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STATISTICS AND CASE STUDIES AS METHODS OF SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH¹

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THE ORGANIZATION three years ago of the Social Science Research Council gave a new impetus to research in the related fields of economics, political science, and sociology. The funds indispensable for the conduct of many fundamental studies, particularly those of a co-operative type, were now forthcoming in amounts that would have seemed staggering ten or even five years ago. One national foundation reported gifts² for co-operative programs of social science research in a few universities totalling in the aggregate several hundred thousand dollars. A year ago, the Social Science Research Council approved a program of research projects involving an expenditure of over \$400,-000 for 1926-27.³

With this assurance of funds adequate for the support of promising projects, attention in all the social sciences has naturally turned to the crucial question of the capacity to "make good" on a research program.

In fact, the Social Research Council itself has authorized the preparation of a case book on scientific methods in the social sciences. Professor Stuart Rice of the University of Pennsylvania and Professor R. M. MacIver, formerly of Toronto University and now of Barnard College,

¹ Paper read at the 1927 annual meeting of the Iowa Association of Economists and Sociologists.

² Laura Spellman Rockefeller Memorial, *Annual Reports*.

³ Social Science Research Council, *Annual Report of the Chairman*, p. 9.

Columbia University, have been secured to compile and edit it.

The scope of this paper is not that of scientific methods in the field of all the social sciences, but is limited to sociology. In sociology, quite as much as in any social science, there is at present a searching inquiry into the nature and technique of research. This interest is perhaps greater than elsewhere because sociology is the latest comer in the family of the social sciences and is naturally self-conscious and not as yet entirely assured of status.

Both for those who view sociology with sympathetic criticism from within and those who scrutinize the development of sociology with curious but not necessarily unfriendly eyes from without it may be helpful to recall the stages of progress in the thinking in the field of any, or indeed all, of the natural sciences.⁴ There tends to be first a period of common sense observation influenced more or less by allegorical comparisons or analogies and by magical or romantic attempts at control. Next, in inquiring and thoughtful minds, there arises more critical observation, reflection, and speculation leading to the working out of basic conceptions and points of view from which are often derived principles of interpretation and even rules of action. This is the metaphysical or philosophical stage of thinking. Finally the method of natural science, of controlled observation and experimentation, is slowly and painstakingly applied to the description of the behavior of the phenomena.

⁴ See Harriet Martineau, *The Positive Philosophy of August Comte* (London, 1893), for Comte's well-known theory of the historical stages in the development of the sciences. For more realistic accounts of the origin and progress of natural science method, see also Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, *Primitive Mentality* (New York, 1923); Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science during the First Thirteen Centuries of our Era* (New York, 1923); W. I. Thomas and F. Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, Vol. I (1918), pp. 1-86; and Robert E. Park and E. W. Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (1921), Chapter I, "Sociology and the Social Sciences."

Just as the magical stage of astronomy was astrology and of psychology was phrenology, both of which continue with us unto this day, so the magical and romantic stage of sociology was the elaboration of utopias. Among utopian sociologists must be classified Plato, with his ideal republic, Campanelli, with his city of the sun, Sir Thomas More, whose work christened this school of millenial thinking, as well as the later utopias of Butler, Morris, Bellamy, and Wells. Indeed, Mr. H. G. Wells, in a paper before the London Sociological Society, assigned as the real function of sociologists the devising of utopias.⁵

I would be the last to underestimate the prevalence at the present time of utopian sociology, and for that matter, of utopian social science. The thinking on public questions of the great masses of the people and also of the self-styled intelligentsia is still in the magical stage.

How else can be explained the abiding faith of the people in the omnipotence of political action to solve all economic, social, and civic problems? Dr. W. I. Thomas characterizes the ordering and forbidding technique of legislation as essentially magical in character.

The oldest but most persistent form of social technique is that of "ordering-and-forbidding"—that is, meeting a crisis by an arbitrary act of will decreeing the disappearance of the undesirable or the appearance of the desirable phenomena, and using arbitrary physical action to enforce the decree. This method corresponds exactly to the magical phase of natural technique. A good instance of this in the social field is the typical legislative procedure of the day.⁶

The advocates of panaceas for social problems, social reformer and social revolutionist alike, belong to the various conflicting factions of the romantic utopian group.

⁵ "The creation of Utopias and their exhaustive criticism is the proper and distinctive method of sociology."—*Sociological Papers* (1906), p. 367.

⁶ *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, p. 3.

The metaphysical stage of the development of the sciences is that of speculation. This is the period of arm chair philosophy, of general observation, of cosmic theories, and of schools of thought. Psychology before the nineties was really the philosophy of the mind as is evident from the systematic works of Hume, Locke, Berkeley, Spencer, and Bain. Philosophy performs, it must be remembered, a necessary preliminary and indeed permanent function for natural science. It surveys the field, it plots the problems, and it formulates the concepts which are indispensable tools for research.

Auguste Comte, in publishing his work on *The Positive Philosophy*, claimed to have ushered in the scientific stage of sociology. Instead, his efforts mark the real beginning of the philosophical mode of systematic sociological thinking which continued in the voluminous writings of Herbert Spencer in England and Lester F. Ward in the United States and which still dominates the thinking and work of many contemporary sociologists.

The metaphysical period, while a necessary preparation for the scientific stage seems in the perversity of nature destined to prevent, or at any rate to retard, its emergence. The most extreme illustration of this is found in the attitude of the medieval metaphysicians as recalled in an anecdote quoted by Dr. David Starr Jordan in a recent article:

In an essay attributed to Lord Bacon, the story is told of the effort on the part of a cult of priests to find out how many teeth a horse has. Appeal was made to the Fathers and to Aristotle without result. Finally, someone suggested looking at a horse. This was fiercely resented by the scholars. "Satan hath tempted this bold neophyte to declare unholy and unheard of ways of finding truth, contrary to all the teachings of the fathers." The disputants finally declared it to be "an everlasting mystery, because of a grievous dearth of historical and theological evidence thereof and so ordered the same writ down."⁷

⁷ *Scientific Monthly*, XXIV (February, 1927), 146.

We smile at this credulous reliance upon scholastic as over against empirical knowledge. Yet I have no doubt that a survey of the content of the volumes written by sociologists in the last quarter of a century would show that by far the larger part of them are the product of arm chair philosophizing and the rehashing of the philosophizing of others rather than of the presentation and analysis of concrete materials. Many still prefer the dignity of the scholar who soars in the realm of theories to the humbler walk of the research student in contact with life.

In sociology, the beginning of the scientific period may be placed in 1906, the year marked by the publication of *Folkways* by William Graham Sumner. Here for the first time is a sociological work which bases generalizations upon concrete materials. His division of customs into *folkways* as convenient forms of group behavior, and *mores* as sanctioned modes of social conduct laid the foundation for an objective and a comparative study of culture.

Then, too, there is the monumental work, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* by Thomas and Znaniecki, which is an exhibit of the sociological study of a culture under conditions of transplantation from an old world to a new world environment.

With a growing realization, especially on the part of the younger sociologists, that the future of their science lay more in field research rather than in "book learning" has come a keener interest in the technique of investigation. Professor Franklin H. Giddings⁸ for years has stressed the use of the statistical method while Professor Charles H. Cooley⁹ has advocated the method of sympathetic intro-

⁸ "The Concepts and Methods of Sociology," *American Journal of Sociology*, X (1904-05), pp. 161-176, and "The Service of Statistics to Sociology," *Quarterly Publications of the American Statistical Association*, XIV (1914), 21-29.

⁹ *Social Organization*, p. 7, and "The Roots of Social Knowledge," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXII (1926-27), 59-79. See also Ellsworth Faris, "The Nature of Human Nature," *Proceedings of the American Sociological Society*, XX (1925), 15-29.

spection. Meanwhile the methods of statistics and of case study were being applied to the study of varied aspects of social life and at first almost entirely by others than sociologists.

Not even Professor Giddings was a more ardent advocate of the scientific value of statistics than was the founder of sociology, Auguste Comte. He held that mathematics was *par excellence* the method of science and indispensable to its development. Indeed, he was convinced, as many others have been, that the best method of determining how far a field of study has become scientific is by the extent to which its laws and generalizations have been given exact and precise quantitative expression. No one can dispute that in the physical sciences, astronomy, physics, chemistry, and biology, mathematical formulae have played a larger and a larger part. In recent years, psychology, which occupies a twilight zone between the physical and the social sciences, has been making heroic efforts to become more scientific, that is to say, statistical.

The prestige of statistics as *the one* scientific method has naturally often led in sociology and I suspect in psychology and the other social sciences, to a naïve and uncritical application of quantitative measurement to mental and social phenomena. This attitude of deference to statistics has taken two widely different manifestations. The first is that of reverence for all mass data, for all facts and all information presented in numerical fashion. The second is a worship of statistical technique in its most refined minutiae, as coefficient of correlation, standard deviation of error, and the higher mathematical formulae, often to the exclusion either of its applicability to the phenomena in question or its real bearing upon the hypothesis to be tested.

If the mere enumeration of data, no matter how precise, or if the most complicated and detailed higher calculation provide in themselves little or no contribution to science, of what use in sociology is statistics?

Personally, I have found helpful one of the definitions of statistics offered by Professor Arthur L. Bowley, namely, that "statistics is the science of the measurement of the social organism, regarded as a whole, in all its manifestations."¹⁰ Perhaps I read into this definition meaning which the author of it did not intend nor imply when he spoke of the "social organism as a whole."

"A chief practical use of statistics is to show relative importance," continues Professor Bowley. "Statistics are almost always comparative. A statement of the number of paupers in the United Kingdom is valueless unless we know the total population. . . . In the case of most statistical estimates, it will be found that we need another for comparison before we can appreciate the meaning of the first."¹¹

The value of statistics undoubtedly increases with the feasibility of comparisons. It is of little significance to know that 1,178,318 marriages were enumerated in the United States in 1924. But when this figure is compared with the number of unmarried persons of marriageable age, and with the number of divorces, its value is enhanced by every comparison. An isolated comparative fact, the knowledge that there were 28 divorces per 100,000 population in 1870 in the United States takes on larger meaning when the trend is disclosed showing a constant increase until the divorce rate in 1924 reached 152 per 100,000 population or over five times as great a ration as 54 years ago.

¹⁰ *Elements of Statistics* (5th edition, 1926), p. 7.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

Another valuable use of statistics is to show correlations between two variables, as for example, the divorce rate as compared with absence of children, or marriage and length of life. At the present time prediction in sociology and the social sciences rarely if ever follows the principles of causation disclosed in the physical sciences, namely, an invariable sequence of certain occurrence. Prediction in sociology at present, has certain definite limitations. We can predict that the divorce rate will continue to increase, but with the proviso, that the factors producing the increase continue to operate in the future as in the past without the check of counterbalancing factors. In many instances, the theory of statistical probability in human behavior is contingent upon the customary. The fate of the textile industry is a case in point showing the havoc wrought by a change in fashion that was not predictable.

Professor Cooley, in a penetrating and illuminating article on methods of social research under the title, "The Roots of Social Knowledge," points out that prediction at present in social science depends upon the inertia and standardization of our modern economic and social life rather than upon the discovery of fundamental uniformities in human nature and society. He says:

Another impression which I take to be erroneous is that statistics is revealing uniformities or irregularities in social phenomena which indicate that these phenomena may in time prove to be subject to exact prediction in quite the same way as those of physics. It is true that statistics is revealing sequence, order, and a remarkable degree of predictability in certain social processes. By analysis of what has taken place during the past ten years, especially in the economic field, where the facts are largely material, it may be possible to forecast what will take place in the next five; and no one can say how far we may go in this direction. The whole basis of this, however, seems to be the prevalence of inertia and the rarity and slowness of the more originative processes. The greater part

of human phenomena are so far routinized as to be more or less subject to calculation. Wherever men, under the impetus of habit and suggestion, are moving ahead in a mechanical manner, or where their intelligence is merely repeating what is essentially an old synthesis of motives—as, for example, in deciding whether to marry or not—exact methods are in place. The complex of human events can, to a great extent, be resolved into currents of tendency moving on definite lines at ascertainable speeds. If we can measure these lines and speeds it may be possible to predict their combined operation, much as the motion of a comet is predicted by calculating the resultant of the gravity, tangential momentum, and other forces acting upon it. The whole basis of prediction in such fields as that of the business cycles is the belief that the underlying motivation is essentially standardized or repetitive.

Probably no exact science could have foreseen the sudden rise of the automobile industry and the genius of Henry Ford, although now that this industry is developed and institutionalized we may perhaps calculate with some precision what it will bring forth in the near future.¹²

Moreover, even correlations, while suggesting relations of cause and effect leave unrevealed the process of causation. Several years ago in a paper presented before the American Sociological Society figures were quoted showing that married men lived longer than single men with the assumption of the favorable effect of marriage upon longevity. You at once ask if the correct explanation may not be that physical fitness involving greater expectation of life is favorable to marriage? Statistics in and of themselves give no answer. The explanation must be found, if at all, elsewhere. Indeed, in the discussion of the paper, the flippant question was raised whether married men really lived longer or that married life seemed longer. The implications of this jest, if followed up, strike deep into the basic assumption of the use and limitations of the statistical method. How can attitudes, the basic subject matter

¹² *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXII (1926-27), 74-75.

of human nature and society, be stated numerically? How can the so-called intangible facts of life, its qualitative aspects, be apprehended by so crude an instrument as statistics? What figures will measure the degree of affection between husband and wife, or the nature and intensity of a father's pride in his children, or qualities of personality like charm, loyalty, and leadership?

Another way of stating this same point is to recognize that quantitative methods deal in the main with the cruder, more external aspects of human behavior, and that some other more sympathetic and discerning method is necessary to probe beneath the surface and to depict and analyze the inner life of the person.

* The most serious deficiency of statistics for sociology as at present practised has yet to be mentioned. It is that the existing body of social statistics is based upon an atomistic rather than upon an organic conception of society.

By an atomistic conception of society is meant the notion that society is an aggregate of relatively independent individuals. In this sense society is thought of as a mere sum total of its component individuals. On the other hand, the organic conception of society, whatever else it implies, is, at least a recognition of the fact that society and its members alike are the product of social interaction. According to this explanation a gang is not the sum total of the individual boys who compose it but the organization of the boys into a new form of a group which at the same time creates a new type of boy, the gangster.

It is because to the sociologist society is an organization of persons rather than a collection of individuals that Bowley's definition of statistics as "the science of the measurement of the social organism as a whole" is so appropriate. In current statistical procedure, the unit of enumeration and measurement is almost always some

atomistic rather than integral trait of the person. For example, current studies of the causes of desertion take such individual traits as unemployment, alcoholism, feeble-mindedness, wanderlust, and then tabulate the number of times that each is found to be a factor rather than make any effort to perceive the setting of each trait in the total personality.

Even if statistics rest upon the assumption that the individual and society may be divided into isolated units which can be counted, it does not follow that statistical data give us no knowledge of sociological value. Often statistics upon some superficial and external aspect of social life may measure the working of a fundamental process. Divorce, in our society, is an objective record that society approves the dissolution of the contract entered into a marriage. Yet divorces may be taken as an index, I admit a crude one, of the forces of family disintegration. A more adequate index of family disintegration is secured when desertion, "the poor man's divorce," is included in addition to divorce. Nevertheless, since both divorce and desertion are only two of the end results of the process of family disintegration, is there not some other objective fact which will more accurately reflect its actual workings? Our studies in city life in Chicago suggest that mobility, or change in the position and movement of the population, is perhaps the best objective correlate of social disorganization in general and of family disorganization in particular. Mr. Andrew W. Lind, who is making a study of indices of mobility, has surveyed changes in residence, transfers of children in and out of the schools, traffic counts of pedestrian, automobile, and passenger movement, and changes in land value. The conclusion at which we have tentatively arrived is that land values, especially when correlated with rents, probably provide the most satisfactory measure of the relative mobility of the population in the

various parts of the city. Where mobility is highest, as in the central business district, family life is absent or most precarious, but where mobility is low, as in the suburbs, family life flourishes.

For statistics to be serviceable for the development of sociological science, they must always, whether in simple comparisons or in complex measurement of indices of social processes, refer to what Bowley terms "the social organism." In other words, statistics to have value for social science must measure some natural area or group. Social statistics in American cities on the basis of division into wards are notoriously unsatisfactory, because wards are arbitrarily determined, often gerrymandered with little or no regard for natural groupings by neighborhoods, nationalities, or trade areas. In St. Louis and in Chicago, the councils of social agencies have sponsored a division of the city into natural areas as a basis for usable social statistics.¹³

The case-study method was first introduced into social science as a handmaiden to statistics. LePlay's interest in monographic studies was primarily to secure data on family income and expenditure as a basis for the preparation of family budgets. Healy's adoption of the case method for the study of the individual delinquent grew out of his disappointment with earlier statistical findings secured from a superficial examination of cases.¹⁴ He said, however, in summarizing his own statistical data derived from an intensive study of 1,000 cases of juvenile delinquency, that "statistics will never tell the whole story."¹⁵

In the period when the case-study was subordinated to statistics, it was open to the same sociological criticism as

¹³ See Blanche Renard, "Uniform Districting in a Large City for Social and Civic Purposes"; E. W. Burgess, "The Natural Area as the Unit for Social Work in the Large City"; and Helen I. Clarke, "Uniform Area Plan for Chicago City-Wide Agencies," *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work*, 1926, pp. 500-514.

¹⁴ W. Healy, *The Individual Delinquent*, pp. 15-18; 23-26.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

the latter. For the case-study, thought of primarily in terms of a questionnaire, was planned so as to secure data on points susceptible to enumeration and tabulation. The case to be studied was not conceived of as an organic whole, but as a sum of separable and independent units which could therefore be itemized, scheduled, and tabulated.

The first steps in the emancipation of the case-study from the domination of statistics was not taken by sociologists, but by journalists, by social workers, by psychiatrists, and by cultural anthropologists. The newspaper reporter quickly learned that while the public easily tires of dry statistics, its appetite is insatiable for dramatic cases. The social worker, while using a face sheet very convenient for statistical summaries, soon found the necessity in her work for recording something of the life history of the family and its progress under social treatment. Psychiatrists like William Healy, turning their attention to the causation of juvenile delinquency, found the case study indispensable for disclosing processes and for giving insight into causation. Cultural anthropologists naturally tended to rely upon the monographic method for the description of the culture of primitive peoples.

Spencer was the first sociologist to make extensive use of case materials. From correspondents all over the world he collected a mass of ethnographic documents. He devoted his private fortune to the classification and publication of these materials.¹⁶ Unfortunately, the philosophical cast of his mind predisposed him to pigeon-hole these cases under the categories of his sociological system, rather than to test hypotheses by cases. Spencer was notoriously guilty of amassing all favorable cases to prove a point in utter disregard of negative cases as another sociologist took the pains to find out.

¹⁶ *Descriptive Sociology* (London, 1873-1925).

Perhaps the first disinterested arrangement of anthropological materials for sociological purposes is to be found in Sumner's *Folkways*. But the actual introduction of the case-study as a method of sociological field research was made by Thomas and Znaniecki in *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*. Here for the first time are found personal documents as letters, statements, and autobiographies, as well as case records of social agencies with a fully developed scheme of socialized interpretation. The assumption throughout is the organic conception of an analysis of personal conduct and group behavior in its regular setting in a total cultural situation.

This organic or cultural explanation of human behavior has recently found a new formulation in the Gestalt or the configuration psychology.¹⁷ Just as in perception any object is seen in its total setting as a part of a larger pattern, so any act of a person or group gets meaning in its configuration, or frame of reference, in the life experience of that person or group.

Thrasher, the author of *The Gang*, states this point in a recent article on "The Group Factor":

To study a delinquent as a mere individual, then, as if he could have developed in a social vacuum, is to get a very imperfect picture of him. The delinquent must be studied as a person (as an individual with status, or in his social relationships). His sentiments and attitudes, which may be of vital significance in any therapeutic program devised for him as well as in the diagnosis of his case, are most intimately related to the social complexes or configurations which have co-operated with other factors to create his personality. What will be the effect upon the delinquent boy of treatment which involves visits to the juvenile court, the detention home, or a correctional institution? In many gangs, the acquirement of such a record is a necessity for full standing in the group: it means added prestige and added incentive to delinquency; and the boy becomes a hero to be

¹⁷ See H. Helson, "The Psychology of Gestalt," *American Journal of Psychology*, XXXVI, 342-70, 494-526; XXXVII, 25-62, 789-223, as well as writings of W. Köhler and K. Koffka.

emulated in the eyes of his fellow gang boys. Yet this untoward effect is wholly unforeseen by those who inflict the punishment, that is, if the boy is not studied in his social setting. What is defined by the gang as devilish good sport and adventure, moreover, may be defined by the larger society as serious delinquency. There are two distinct social worlds here that must be considered if any real insight into the problem is to be achieved. The real meaning of the delinquent or his behavior, therefore, can only be understood in its *gestalt* or its social configuration.¹⁸

Sooner or later, the objection is sure to be raised: "Case studies are interesting and enlightening, true they give insights, they reveal motives and causes, they disclose processes, but are they scientific?" This question can perhaps best be answered in the words of Karl Pearson: "The man," he says, "who classifies facts of any kind whatever, who sees their mutual relations and describes their sequences, is applying the scientific method and is a man of science."¹⁹ There is certainly nothing in this definition to exclude the case-study method from scientific procedure, provided that it involves classification, perception of relationships, and description of sequences.

But it is apparent that case-study as a method in sociology is still in its infancy. For the great majority of people, the account of a case has the status of an anecdote, of a story with human interest. The case record of a social agency represents a distinct advance over the anecdotal method, yet even here the disposition is to treat each case as individual and independent, and not as a specimen or as a type, which is essential for classification according to natural science procedure.

At the present time a group of sociologists under the impetus largely of Professor Thomas and Professor Park are

¹⁸ *Welfare Magazine*, XVIII (1927), 143.

¹⁹ Quoted by Charles E. Gehlke in a paper, "The Use and Limitations of Statistics in Sociological Research," *Proceedings of the American Sociological Society*, XXI (1927), 141.

at work accumulating personal documents, interpreting them, and raising questions of technique and the logic of the case-study method.

The sociological value of any case, it is soon discovered, depends first of all upon the grade of excellence of the document secured. The chief criterion of a good case document is that it be revealing, that it penetrate beneath the conventional mask each human being wears, and that it freely admits one into the inner recesses of the memories and wishes, fears and hopes, of the other person. This sharing of the innermost feelings and thoughts of another person is what is offered by the secret diary, the intimate autobiography, the personal letter, and the confidential interview.

But what is the technique of securing these revealing documents and may their authenticity and accuracy be verified?

My answer to these questions will probably not be completely satisfactory to all, or perhaps to any one.

The primary requisite of the seeker for personal documents is a sense for the dramatic in all human life, a sympathy broad enough to encompass the manifold diverse manifestations of human nature, even those that are commonly regarded as shocking or even outrageous. My own experience as well as my observation of the success and failure of students seems to show that the inhibitions to personal revelations are not generally so much in the subject as in the attitude of the inquirer. Both this dramatic sense and this sympathetic attitude indispensable for success in securing personal documents, naturally develop under favorable conditions of human association, but are also susceptible to special training for research work.

Our experience with personal documents has shown the great value of recording an interview in the language of

the person interviewed.²⁰ This preserves the objectivity of the record. Otherwise the record is a translation into the language of the interviewer and thereby often quite unintentionally does violence to the original meaning. What an enormous improvement there would be in the case records of social agencies if all interviews were only entered in the language of the informant instead of the not infrequently misleading translation of the social worker.

It is even more difficult to give a conclusive answer to the question of the verifiability of the authenticity and accuracy of the autobiography, the interview, and other personal documents. One of course may trust to the experienced discrimination of the competent student of cases, as one relies upon the jeweler to distinguish almost at first glance the true from the spurious gem. Or reliance may be placed upon the testimony of Healy that contrary to his expectation he found only a negligible fraction of deception in interviews with thousands of juvenile delinquents he has examined. Or certain tests of the authenticity of a document may be devised, as for example, the test of its growing coherence and absence of contradiction with increasing detail. Or finally, an interesting if not conclusive argument can be made for the point that the authenticity of a document is to be measured by its fidelity in disclosing the person's conception of his rôle and that this is revealed quite as well in what he omits as in what he tells and in attempts at deception quite as much as in truth telling.

The logic of the case study as a method of natural science lies in the feasibility of classifying cases. This means that in analyzing a case it is treated as a specimen of a species. In society an individual case is a specimen of a species in a more intimate sense than in the biological world. Two dandelion plants are specimens of the dande-

²⁰ See Clifford R. Shaw, "The Case Study Method," *Proceedings of the American Sociological Society*, XXI (1927).

lion species merely because of the kind of seed from which they grew, but two policemen are specimens of the police officer species because they participate in the code and the standards of a social pattern of what the policeman is or ought to be.

In treating an individual boys' gang as a specimen of boys' gangs in general, the assumption is that those traits are selected that characterize all boys' gangs. It is necessary, of course, to make comparisons, to study marginal and negative cases, and to arrive at classes and other groupings within these species.

It seems, then, that the possibilities are open to the case-study method to develop its technique in conformity with the requirements of science. The method of case study may eventually or may never win the exactness and precision of statistics but there can be no doubt but that it will become increasingly standardized. It must be noted that the case study as a method is a distinctly different technique from that of statistics and with its own criteria of excellence.

In conclusion, it is probably sufficient to point out that the methods of statistics and of case study are not in conflict with each other; they are in fact mutually complementary. Statistical comparisons and correlations may often suggest leads for research by the case-study method, and documentary materials as they reveal social processes will inevitably point the way to more adequate statistical indices. If, however, statistics and case study are to yield their full contribution as tools of sociological research, they should be granted equal recognition and full opportunity for each to perfect its own technique. At the same time, the interaction of the two methods is certain to prove fruitful. From case studies light is now being thrown on the workings of social processes like mobility, formerly unseen or dimly perceived; the measurement of these processes opens up a new field of statistical effort.

LEADERSHIP AND GEOGRAPHICAL MOBILITY

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A SERIES of facts seems to indicate that there is a tangible correlation between leadership or intelligence and shifting of the individuals from place to place. Other conditions being equal, the individuals with a leadership capacity and superior intelligence seem to be more "nomadic" than the individuals without leadership capacity or of an inferior intelligence. Of a series of facts which suggest this the following may be mentioned: Professor Carl Murchison found that among the prisoners studied, those who were born outside of the state of the prison studied had I.Q.'s considerably higher than the prisoners who were born within the state of the prison studied.¹ Our two studies² of Labor and Farmer Leaders have shown that the territorial mobility of the leaders in the United States and Europe has been far greater than that of the general population of those countries; and the mobility of the leaders of a bigger caliber has again been greater than the leaders of a smaller caliber. Likewise, mobility of the notables in *Who's Who in America* has been as great as that of the general population of the United States.³ This may be seen from the following table:

¹ Carl Murchison, *Criminal Intelligence*, pp. 49 ff. (1926).

² P. Sorokin and others, *Leaders of Labor and Radical Movements in the United States and Foreign Countries*, to be published soon; P. Sorokin and C. Zimmerman, "Farmer-Leaders of the United States of America," to be published in *Social Forces*.

³ Fourteenth Census of the United States, p. 613, Vol. II, Ch. V.

TABLE

	<i>Residing in state or coun- try of birth</i>	<i>Residing out- side state or country of birth</i>	Total
Population of the U. S. (1920) -----	67.2	32.8	100
Farmer-Leaders of the U. S.-----	22.9	77.1	100
Labor Leaders of the U. S.			
All Leaders-----	25.3	74.7	100
Chief Leaders-----	13.4	86.6	100
Notables in <i>Who's Who in America</i> ⁷ ---	32.5	67.5	100
Labor Leaders in Foreign Countries-----	71.7	28.3	100
Population of Europe-----	98 to 86	2 to 14 ⁴	100

The table shows that the per cent of the leaders and the notables who reside outside of the state or country of birth is several times greater than the per cent of the general population.⁴ The data are comparable and clearly show the discussed correlation.

It is probable that it would be confirmed by a study of geographical mobility of men of genius compared with that of the general population of a corresponding country at a corresponding time.⁵ Though the necessary data concerning the mobility of a population in the past are lacking, nevertheless, it seems probable that the group of men of genius of any country has been more mobile territorially than the common population. Suggestion given by the table is confirmed by the data of a somewhat different character. In his measurement of about 300,000 Italian recruits R. Livi found that the professional and upper social classes were territorially more mobile than the group of peasants or manual workers.⁶ This means that the

⁴ See P. Sorokin, *Social Mobility*, p. 384 (1927).

⁵ See sample of each of first eight pages of the names beginning A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, in *Who's Who in America*, 1924-1925.

⁶ See Rodolfo Livi, *Antropometria Militaire*, pp. 46-51, Vol. I; pp. 87-91, *et passim* (Roma, 1896).

groups which are intellectually more qualified, and which lead other social classes, less qualified intellectually, are more mobile than these classes. The conclusion is in agreement with the discussed correlation. It is probable—though the proposition is to be tested further—that the upper, the professional, the governmental, the business, and other leading social classes not only in Italy but in many other countries have been more mobile than the classes of unskilled and skilled labor.

The correlation is also confirmed by an extraordinary number of men of genius and talent born in the periods of great territorial, occupational, economic, and other shifts, or in periods of great social upheavals which are at the same time the periods of very intensive territorial- and social-mobility.⁷ These and other reasons make the correlation probable, or, at least, deserving of being tested further.

In conclusion, it is necessary to mention that the correlation, if it is real, does not permit us to conclude either that the leaders are leaders because they are mobile or that they are mobile because they have the innate capacity of leadership. This problem needs a special study.

Further, believing that the correlation is not quite fictitious, at the same time it is necessary to warn that, like all correlation, it has its limits: mobility beyond a certain intensity may not show a positive and may even show a negative correlation with leadership or intelligence. Hobbes may serve as an example of this.

⁷ See P. Sorokin, *Social Mobility*, Ch. XXI.

HOTEL HOMES¹

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THE HOMESTEAD of the pioneer presents a vivid contrast to the modern home. It was the scene of numerous activities and was relatively self-sufficient—"an institution in harmony with the meagerness of a simple life." It was the focus for a large, integrated, semi-patriarchal family in which the wishes of the individual were usually sacrificed to interests of the group.

Our grandfathers were content to live permanently in individual homes. Partly because of this stability the home came to be enshrined in sentiment and affection. Living in one place seems to be a prerequisite for the development of those habits and sentiments—that body of tradition—graphically described by Edgar Guest as a "Heap o' Livin.' "

Home ain't a place that gold can buy or get up in a minute;

Afore it's home there's got to be a heap o' livin' in it.

Under the conditions of modern city life, this "heap o' livin'" is difficult, and in many cases impossible to attain. In 1920 the average percentage of home ownership for the 68 cities over 100,000 in the United States was only 25.4. The bungalow has been described as "the last stand of the individual home." The trend is definitely toward multiple dwellings and wholesale housekeeping. We are as a na-

¹ An aspect of a University of Chicago doctor's thesis on "The Sociology of Hotel Life."

tion coming more and more to use the apartment house and hotel as places of abode.

The percentage of families provided for in new one-family dwellings is on the decline, while the percentage provided for in new multiple-dwellings is on the increase.² Hotels are increasing both in number and in size. Permits were issued for 342 new hotels in the principal cities of the United States during 1925 at an average cost of half a million dollars.³

The change from a household to a factory economy is at the basis of the present-day decline in home life. Activities at one time performed in the home have been taken over by industry. The housewife today is frequently accused of "cooking with a can opener." In fact, one married woman in ten was working for wages in 1920.

A car at the curb—a sort of extra room on wheels—makes life in a small apartment endurable. In some such cases "the home becomes merely an over-night parking place." Under these circumstances the "family circle" is no longer a reality.

There seems to be a definite ratio between land values and the number of people who move to hotels. The land occupied by apartment buildings is on the whole more valuable than that occupied by individual homes and it is obviously a costly undertaking to maintain a private house in an apartment area. Taxes are prohibitive. For similar reasons—increasing transportation and mobility of popu-

² "Building Permits in Principal Cities of the United States: First Half of 1926," *Monthly Labor Review*, October, 1926, p. 64.

The percentage of families provided for in new one-family dwellings during the first six months of 1926 decreased to 36.1 as compared with 43.4 during the same period of 1922. The percentage provided for in new multiple dwellings during the same periods increased from 34.6 to 50.4.

³ *Monthly Labor Review*, June, 1926, pp. 113-114.

The average cost of the 96 hotels for which permits were issued in 1921 was \$411,208. Although the number declined slightly in the first half of 1926 as compared with 1925, the average cost increased to \$626,377.

lation—there seems to be a point at which land becomes too valuable for the ordinary three or four story apartment house, and this in turn tends to be replaced by larger apartment buildings, apartment hotels, residential hotels, transient hotels, or even by a new kind of utility such as theaters, business buildings or shops.⁴ And of course the building of apartment houses in an area of single residences or of hotels in an apartment house area increases the land values. It is a vicious circle.

THE NATURAL HISTORY OF THE HOTEL⁵

The hotel had its origin in the commercialization of hospitality. It may be thought of as a large scale domestic establishment run for profit. It involves a detailed division of labor and is much more efficient⁶ than the isolated and undifferentiated monastery, manor-house, or home-stead from which it sprang. People who live in hotels come and go. Even the so-called "permanents" need only remain a month to attain that name. As a business institution it caters primarily to travelers. Without them it would not be a hotel. As compared with the area in which the hotel is located its population is always relatively transient.

The inns and innkeepers of the ancient world seem to have been in universal disrepute. In Rome tavern keepers were not admitted to military service and their wives or

⁴ See McKenzie, "The Scope of Human Ecology," in Burgess, *The Urban Community*, pp. 167-182, for a description of the process of succession.

⁵ "The history of institutions, that is to say, the family, the church, economic institutions, political institutions, etc., leads inevitably to comparison, classification, the formation of class names or concepts, and eventually to the formulation of law. In the process, history becomes natural history, and natural history passes over into natural science."—Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, p. 16.

⁶ See the writer's article, "A Modern Hotel Described," *Hotel Monthly*, February, 1926.

concubines were exempt from the provisions of legislation against adultery. St. Paul in his missionary journeys shunned the public houses and stopped at the homes of fellow Christians. The history of inns is described by Firebaugh in his *Inns of Greece and Rome* as "an integral part of the history of brigandage and thuggery." As the Roman Empire declined and the public character degenerated, these haunts of vice and crime became increasingly popular. The tavern keepers were naturally strong opponents of Christianity, with its austerity and abstinence, and powerful supporters of paganism, with its sensual divinities, its orgies and its sacrificial feasts.

The inn has also, somewhat paradoxically, been an important social center. The tavern in the American Colonies, for example, was sometimes more important to the residents of the town or village than to the traveler. It was a place to hear the news, to gossip, to talk politics. Here notices were posted, business transacted and entertainment provided. Apparently it served as a kind of unified and undifferentiated post office, newspaper, club, town hall and theater, as well as hotel. The landlord was an important personality. He was frequently a merry, jovial person, and a leader in village affairs.

In the evolution from inn to hotel profound changes took place. The personal hospitable relation between the landlord and his guest was replaced by impersonality and standardized correctness. The huge hostleries of our great cities have all the comforts and luxuries that science can devise, but they have lost, as have many other institutions, the friendly individuality of an earlier day.

The modern hotel dweller is characteristically detached in his interests from the place in which he sleeps. Although physically near the other guests he is socially distant. He meets his neighbors, perhaps, but he does not know them. "Have you ever lived in Europe or in any foreign coun-

try?" asks a hotel child.⁷ "Did you take part where you lived in the life around you? Or did you just live in your hotel and see the sights? That is the trouble with people who live abroad all their lives; they have no roots; they don't 'belong' to anything. And that is the way with people like me, who live in a hotel always; we are in a certain degree like people who are living in a foreign country."

"No place in the world can one be more independent," a guest declares. If you want to come in late and leave early, no one is inconvenienced, or will they ask questions. The lights are always on and the doors unlocked. Heat, hot water and towels are to be had in abundance. To the housewife this means freedom from household responsibilities. No longer is it necessary to cook or hire servants. These worries are taken over by the management.

"My chief reason in going to a hotel was the difficulty in getting competent household labor," writes a successful Chicago business man in a letter to the author. "Until about six years ago, I had no trouble whatever with servants—could get good ones and at a price I could afford to pay. I was married twenty-three years ago and went at once into a building which I owned. I lived in my own home twenty-one years, four years in an eight-room apartment and then in a large twelve-room house. I lived in a hotel one year, and about a year ago rented an apartment. It may be significant that when my apartment lease expires September thirtieth next, we intend to go to some hotel. I believe that all in all it is cheaper to live in a hotel than in an apartment of reasonable size. I know that it is cheaper to live in a hotel than in a large house.⁸ However, I have not in an apartment and especially in a hotel, that

⁷ "The True Story of a Hotel Child—an Autobiography," *The Designer*, April 1922.

⁸ Managers and guests agree that it is cheaper for a city family of considerable income—say eight thousand dollars a year, or more—to live in a hotel than in a large home of their own.

feeling of permanence and of being at home that I had in a house."

The present-day residential hotel not only affords freedom from household responsibilities, but also from parasitic friends and relatives. "The small family group in apartment houses or residential hotels is, on the whole, the most notorious illustration of effectual detachment from the claims of kinship," writes Professor Burgess.⁹ "The absence in the city home of the 'spare bedroom,' that famous institution of the country-side, serves as a convenient defense against invading relatives."

THE HOTEL FAMILY

The writer knows a family of four who live apparently in one large room of a commercial hotel. The mother cooks meals on two small grills and her electric iron. They frequently have a guest for dinner! But this is an exceptional case. The majority of families with children in commercial hotels are transient guests. They are not long exposed to the influences of the hotel environment.

Even in the so-called family hotel there are relatively few children. For this reason they are more noticeable and more likely to behave in ways that will draw attention to themselves than children in a more normal environment. Occasionally one finds a well-mannered, apparently wholesome hotel child. In these cases, however, the child is not permitted the run of the hotel; its activities are very carefully supervised and controlled; its natural impulses are perhaps too much suppressed. The little "actor" or "actress" is more characteristic. The hotel child easily becomes a "behavior problem." It is quite generally agreed that "the hotel is a poor place for children."

⁹ Ernest W. Burgess, "The Family as a Unity of Interacting Personalities," *The Family*, March, 1926.

The family without children is better adapted to life in hotels. There are, for example, many elderly couples in the hotel population whose children have grown up and left home. They have worked hard during their younger years, saved a little money and now enjoy retiring to a hotel and living in comfort and ease for the remainder of their lives. Here they have an opportunity to do many things that the press of more important affairs have been left undone. Here also they may be independent and live their own lives in any way they see fit.

The "companionate" is the hotel family *par excellence*. This term is used for "the state of lawful wedlock, entered into solely for companionship, and not contributing children to society."¹⁰ Since the companionate is dependent on conscious family limitation, it is not always successful. Children may come and make it "orthodox."¹¹ When married people in hotels have children they usually move to an apartment or bungalow. More commonly, however, they do not have children. Birth control is a common practice in the hotel family.

When young couples remain in the hotel environment they tend to become "emancipated." "The so-called 'emancipated' family feels itself freed from the conventions that have been the anathema of feminism. There are no children; relations with the neighborhood are casual or of the 'touch-and-go' sort; the interests of both husband and wife lie outside the home; both are employed for the most part, though not necessarily. The areas of the emancipated family are the rooming-house areas, the kitchenette-apartment areas, and the residential hotel areas."¹²

Hotel life seems to facilitate family disorganization. The Wilson Avenue district in Chicago, for example, has a

¹⁰ M. M. Knight, "The Family and the Companionate," *Journal of Social Hygiene*, X (May, 1924), pp. 256-67.

¹¹ See Ernest R. Groves, *Social Problems of the Family*, Chapter VI, "The Arrested Family."

¹² Ernest R. Mowrer, *Family Disorganization*, p. 111.

larger number of the better class residential hotels than any other community in the city. It also has the highest rate of family disintegration—68 per 10,000 population.¹³ The family circle practically ceases to exist in the hotel environment, along with family ceremonies, ritual and tradition. The controls that bind the members into a group are weakened and the members tend to become highly individualized and develop widely divergent points of view. There is no common life to hold the group together. Under these conditions the tensions present in all families—the “real” causes of divorce—tend to be accentuated and the family disintegrates.

There are many “tag-ends” or fragments of families in hotels. Desertion, divorce, death, and departure of son or daughter from home may give rise to these “broken families.” They are broken in the sense that only mother and son, father and daughter, widow or widower, or divorcé remain from the original normal family. In fact, the hotel family is more commonly “a beginning and ending of families” rather than the fully rounded, normal family.

In conclusion, the individual home, with its numerous activities and its relative self-sufficiency and permanence is passing. The trend is definitely toward “hotel living,” i.e., toward multiple dwellings, wholesale housekeeping, increasing mobility and decline in the number and variety of activities carried on in the home. The present increase in the number and size of residential hotels is particularly significant because it represents a situation in which the hitherto stable and organized home becomes amalgamated with the impersonal, standardized, efficient hotel. The resulting freedom from household responsibilities is one of the big attractions of hotel life. The individual members of the family are free to follow their wishes, but there is a danger that this release from restraints may break up the family group.

¹³ Mowrer, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

WHAT IS SOCIAL RESEARCH?

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THE PURPOSE of this note is not to attempt any description of the methodology or technique of research, but to raise the question whether there is logical justification for the widespread current practice of using the expression "social research" as an equivalent for "sociological research." Two answers are possible, both apparently reasonable, but squarely opposed the one to the other. The validity of either hinges upon the conception of sociology one holds in view while examining it. I shall consider the two arguments independently.

Let the first proposition be that the use of the two expressions as synonyms is not justifiable, for the following reasons: First of all, it seems that logical procedure would dictate that the various types of research should be named and classified on the basis of either the *field* of phenomena studied or the *method* by which they are studied, but not by a shifting from one base to the other. In the current use of the term "social research" there would seem to be just such a confusion of thinking. When we call it *social* research we have in mind the fact that we are investigating social phenomena, and naming it for the *field* studied, and we correctly call it *social* research. But when we at the same time make it identical with "sociological research" we have shifted attention to the concepts and *method* by

*EDITORIAL NOTE: This paper is one of the results of discussion held by the Southern California chapter of Alpha Kappa Delta and by the Social Research Society of Southern California.

which the field is approached. Yet it hardly follows that the sociological approach is the only way of investigating *social* phenomena.

The truth seems to be that while sociological research is one form of social research, so also is economic research, or political research, or anthropological research, not to mention historical research. They all deal with *social* phenomena and are by virtue of that fact forms of social research. So long as one fixes attention on the kind of phenomena studied, the single name "social research" applies to them each and all. Only when one considers the different standpoints from which they view this common field of social phenomena are distinctive names required. Seen from this angle economic research is social research centered upon the industrial phenomena of society; political research studies social phenomena in relation to law and order; and sociological research investigates social phenomena for light on the social processes they exemplify, such as conflict and co-operation, subordination and superordination, and similar recurrent social changes.

In the light of this reasoning sociological research is simply social research done by a sociologist. But, as remarked at the opening, the truth of this contention depends upon the correctness of the underlying conception of sociology, expressed or assumed. It is a sound conclusion if sociology is simply a social science correlative with economics and political science, and if it investigates whatever social phenomena they have left over from their own feasts. According to this conception sociology would figure as a specific social science of the family, and any other subfield of social phenomena not already appropriated, and it would also figure as a generalizing, synthesizing science of the social sciences. This older conception of sociology is the premise from which flows the conclusion that sociological research is simply one kind of social research.

There is, however, the opposing view that *social research* is nothing more or less than *sociological* research, and represents simply a short way of saying it. From this point of view we have *political* research, *economic* research, *anthropological* research, and all the rest, on the one hand, and *social* research on the other. The former are pursued by the several special social sciences; the latter is the province of sociology alone.

This distinction, not explicitly formulated so far as I am aware, has been simply assumed and carried out in practice during the last few years by sociologists connected with the American Sociological Society. I propose to suggest that its logical foundation and justification will also be found, if at all, in the conception of sociology that underlies it.

This conception is that formulated by Simmel,¹ which holds that the special social sciences are distinguished by their *factual content*, that is, by the particular, concrete phenomena of society in which they are respectively interested. "Economics and church policy, the history of education and of morals, politics and theories of sexual relations, have divided the realm of the social phenomena into separate regions of research."²

According to Simmel's thought, the special social sciences are not to be distinguished from one another by the conceptual methods with which they approach a common field of social research, as in the argument set forth above, but by the fact that they are interested in different *factual* aspects of the one "socio-historical actuality," as Simmel calls the field of social phenomena. "Sociology as a special science, however, rests on an entirely different abstraction

¹ Cf. *The Social Theory of Georg Simmel*, by Nicholas J. Spykman (Chicago, 1925).

² *Op. cit.*, p. 47.

from the social phenomena and results from viewing the socio-historical actuality from a quite different standpoint. While economics is distinguished from politics merely by the difference in content of the social phenomena which it investigates, sociology is distinguished from both by the fact that it treats the form of socialization and not its content."³

By this reasoning sociology stands apart from all the special social sciences, although it is regarded by Simmel as itself a special and limited science. "It is differentiated from other social sciences, not by its object, but by the special viewpoint which guides the abstraction of its subject-matter from the social actuality. It is neither a social philosophy, a philosophy of history, nor a synthesis of the social sciences. It is a special science with a well-defined field of investigation and a clearly formulated task: *the study of the forms of socialization.*"⁴

These "forms of socialization" are often called "social processes" by American sociologists. Among those discussed by Simmel are *submission* and *opposition* in their various ramifications, including leadership and following. Others have to do with social differentiation, including the processes involving the relations between the individual and the group, and similar social *forms*.

Now if sociology is taken, with Simmel, to be the special science of these abstract forms or processes, interesting itself in them as such, regardless of their factual content, it may be permissible to regard research into the nature and laws of such processes as the generic, perhaps the true and only, form of *social research*. In other words, sociological research, and it alone from this point of view, becomes so-

³ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

cial research, and the two expressions are identical. As thus regarded, economic research might be interested in leadership or in opposition as expressed in the concrete relations of industrial social activities; political research might be interested in leadership or in opposition as manifested in the concrete social relations of rulers and subjects; while social research would be concerned with a study of leadership or opposition in their abstract nature as pure forms of socialization, or social processes, in and for themselves, regardless of the question whether they are embodied in the concrete content of industrial, political, religious, recreational, or any other aspect of social activities. The study of these things by sociologists becomes, in this view, the true and only "social" research because it is the only form of research which devotes itself to the *processes* of social life in and for their own sake, regardless of factual content.

It seems fair to conclude, from the preceding discussion, that the answer one gives to the question, whether "social research" means exclusively *sociological* research or research in *any social science*, will be determined by his acceptance or rejection of Simmel's conception of sociology as a special, abstract science of pure social form. Our so-called social research, which has thus far dealt largely with social processes, falls within Simmel's definition of the field, and is really *sociological* research in this special sense. But as to whether this limitation of the field, the procedure and the terminology, is entirely defensible and final, the present writer is not prepared to say.

THE SICILIAN IMMIGRANT AND HIS LANGUAGE PROBLEMS

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THE SICILIAN's assimilation problems have always had a great interest for me. I admire these people, indeed, I love them for the splendid courage they display in trying to solve their economic and social problems in this country. They yearn to be understood here, for they know that once understood all the problems of assimilation will be solved. The chief problem to be considered here is that relating to language difficulties.¹

It is obvious that the secret to the heart of a nation is its language. It makes no difference how much an immigrant may think he knows about America, for without knowing the English language and its secrets, that is, the verb, the vocabulary and its pronunciation, the individual does not know very much about America. In order to acquire a knowledge of these essentials, the newcomer has to attend some form of school for which the average immigrant has little chance. It follows that he does not learn the secrets of America if he cannot read.

Everybody knows that the schoolroom is not the only place in which to learn. But the schoolroom is the only place where things are learned aright. The average Sicilian picks up a few words here, and a few there, from this

¹ Other problems which cannot be touched upon in this article are: (1) the Sicilian in the slums, (2) America's neglect of the Sicilian's education, (3) America's unfriendliness toward the Sicilian, (4) the fallacies of "Nordic Superiority," (5) the Sicilian's indifference towards American politics, and (6) the present naturalization procedure.

or that person, but never learns English unless he comes under the influence of a teacher.

The language that the Sicilian first learns in America is corrupt. In this respect he may be compared with the Barbarians, who, prior to the fall of the Roman Empire, acquired a vulgar form of the classical Latin. Just as those Barbarians never mastered the true Latin, so the Sicilians never know the true English. The Sicilian comes here well equipped with several dialects and sometimes has some idea of some other languages. He knows his own dialect or dialects; he may know something about the classical Italian; and when he comes here he adds some English to his stock of knowledge. He mixes these all up and makes a language of his own.

Probably the most difficult thing that the newcomer has to acquire in order to become an American, is the correct usage of the English language. This is very difficult in the case of the Sicilian. The richest field for dialect study is Italy with its hundreds of dialects differing so radically from each other that the moment the Italian or Sicilian opens his mouth to say a word in the vernacular, the expert linguist can tell not only from what province he hails, but to what village market he went in his youth, in what town or city he went to school, and in what city he first saw the light of the day.

The Sicilian peasant is rooted to the soil. Only on very rare occasions does he migrate from one part of the kingdom to the other. There are several reasons for this stagnation: In the first place, he is too poor and therefore unable to pay for any unnecessary carfare. In the second place, the means of transportation in Sicily are very inadequate; and in the third place, the Island of Sicily is not yet entirely free from the brigandage system. The city dwellers are no different in this regard, because especially

during the last century, the Italian city dweller, like the peasant, did not move about very freely. Born a Caltanitese, or Villarosano, he dies a Caltanitese or Villarosano; born a Palermitano, he dies a Palermitano. The conditions in central and northern Italy are the same; born in Rome or in Milan, he dies a Roman or a Milanese. Not much chance is there, only in special cases, to become a citizen of another town other than the one in which he was born. In America this is not the case. A New Yorker of today may become a Chicagoan tomorrow. Not so with the Italian. It is certainly not so with the Sicilian. It is almost inconceivable that a Palermitano should become a Villarosano or vice-versa. Immobility not only preserves a dialect and keeps its original form, to a large extent, intact, but also enlarges the cleavage of rivalry that has always existed between any two cities. The educated Italian or Sicilian speaks the Italian language, which is above all of the dialects of the Kingdom. This is the only universal medium of communication as far as oral and written expression is concerned. The Italian or Sicilian enjoys it, and it is the last resort in case his dialect fails him. The uneducated may not speak it but he always understands it. But we must keep in mind that the Italian language, like most European languages, is a formal language. It is learned from a text-book, and it is as highly inflected as any other national language of the world, and is mostly used for literary purposes of dignity. In familiar speech, written or oral, the most prompt, familiar, and spontaneous medium of communication is the dialect. The Italian who moves to another city never can find a hearer to whom he can unburden himself fully and openly in his own native tongue. Everything which he says will be given a tone of formality by the fact that it is translated into Italian, which is to be sure one of the most expressive of

tongues, but which is not so close to his heart as the language which he learned from his mother in babyhood or from his playmates in childhood. So he becomes homesick and returns to his native town.

Italy is becoming densely populated. Seven hundred thousand Italians must emigrate annually if they wish to live at all. In emigration, the dialect has proven a very important factor. Whether they be in Argentina, Chile, Brazil, Marseilles, or Chicago, they naturally and certainly group by themselves in bands forming what we now call a "colony." Indeed, if several groups each speaking its own dialect happen to settle in a given quarter, those speaking the same dialect will eventually endeavor to live by themselves, even if they have to live in a province within a province, or a colony within a colony. This is one of the most singular facts of Italian immigration to the United States. In Centreville, Iowa, the first Italian immigrants directly from Italy were the Piedmontesi, who first settled in the south part of the city, called the "Swedes' Town." Early in this century the Sicilians began their wave of immigration, settling in the midst of the Piedmontese settlement. Not a half-dozen years passed until all the Piedmontesi left the city and went to live in the mining-camp houses, in the open, and away from the Sicilians who were so different in speech and traditions from them. One dialect group does not feel at home living close to another dialect group. This may be one of the principal reasons why the Italians from the extreme north of Italy and those of the extreme south, cannot live side by side. But this is not only true in America but is also true in Italy and wherever else they happen to settle. The desire to separate into dialect groups is mutual.

Let it be repeated that the literary, the learned, and the business language in Italy is the Italian. In America it

is the Italian and English, the latter preferred. The dialect is not considered a fit medium for any formal transaction. In oral transactions only is the dialect used. In the central business districts of Chicago, as West Grand Avenue, South Water Street, West Randolph, etc., the dialects are used in oral transactions, as in buying or selling. In correspondence transactions, either the Italian or the English is used.

Another fact deserves mentioning. In America, as well as in Italy, words of one dialect have crept into another, notwithstanding the immobility and conservatism on the part of the individuals of each dialect group. In America, as we shall presently see, a third language has sprung up for the Sicilian by a fusion of his dialect and the English. We have seen that in Sicily a Palermitano does not very frequently come in contact with a Caltanittese. But in America the case is different. A Palermitano here may meet with a Caltanittese as easily as he can with a Londoner, a Parisian, or a Viennese. At once, the words of the Sicilian, not because Italians like each other better in America than in Italy, but because circumstances gave them contact, are found in the vocabulary of the Genoese and vice-versa. The same is true of all the other dialects. It is not uncommon to find Spanish, English, Austrian, French, and Mexican words in the new dialect of the Sicilian. Contact produces a change in the individual's medium of speech as it does in other things. It is reasonable to expect more interchange of words between the various dialects in this country than we find in Italy for the reasons already stated.

The fact that the dialect groups are living in close proximity to each other and are all classed as "Italians" and have social and economic problems in common, and that they can make themselves understood through the medium

of the Italian language, as the dialects of one group are unintelligible to another, "causes the Italian language to have a greater influence on the purity of the dialect than it did in Italy." One of the surprises which I have to record is that I have found more Italians, in America, from all districts of Italy, speaking the Italian language better than one could possibly hope to find in Italy. This proves, beyond doubt, that given the same opportunity, which is not the case in Italy, all the Italians can learn and be taught the same language.

Now we come to the third language which the Sicilian has had to learn or coin since he landed in the "melting pot." Contact with the English speaking people has caused a sudden change in the medium of expression of the Sicilian and the Italian in general. It has led the Italian to adopt, in oral conversation, numerous English words both in the dialect and in the "Italian language" as spoken in this country. "These words form practically the same list for the dialect as they do for the language, but the form in which they are taken over into the dialect may be different from that in which they are taken over into Italian."² In this study we are concerned with the English words as they have migrated into the Sicilian dialect and vice-versa. Of course, the Sicilian would have no use for these adopted words unless he were speaking English to someone. He adopted these words before he knew either their true meaning or their spelling.

The Italian language is the best phonetic language on earth. It is spelled almost exactly as it is pronounced. The only silent letter is the letter "h," and even it is silent only in certain positions, as "ho," pronounced "o," and meaning "I have." When I went to school in Italy the

² An excellent article in point will be found in the *American Speech* (Magazine), Vol. I, April and May numbers, 1926.

teacher always gave us dictations from an unprepared passage. The teacher dictated a passage and the pupils wrote it down. Then he would put the original on the blackboard, and in 95 per cent of the cases, what the pupils wrote compared almost identically with what the teacher had read to us. This becomes all the more remarkable when it is remembered that the age of pupils in the first grade is about five. So, the Italian, trained from boyhood to reproduce sounds phonetically, using the Italian phonetic symbols, spells the English as he would spell the Italian or his dialect; thus he adds new terms to the dialect or Italian vocabulary. This is what I mean: Suppose you were speaking to an Italian who has never studied the English language but has studied the Italian and can write his dialect, and you were to ask him to reproduce for you the sound that is represented by the word "moon." If he has a phonetic sense he will give you "mun" for the English word "moon." If you wanted the word "house" reproduced he would give you "haus"; if you asked for the word "eat" he would give you "it"; if you asked for the word "table" you would get "teibl"; if you wanted the words "all right," you would get "ol rait," etc. He is merely giving you the Italian equivalent sounds for the English sounds. I understand that the Swedes do the same thing. In the light of what has been said the schoolroom is the only place where the Sicilian can learn the correct English language.

ATTITUDES OF RURAL PREACHERS REGARDING CHURCH UNION AND SCIENCE

A Methodological Study

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THIS STUDY is an attempt to analyze the significance of some environmental and selective factors in certain attitudes¹ of one hundred Protestant ministers in rural Minnesota. The attitudes relate to the union of Protestant Churches and to the value of training in natural and social sciences as an aid in the duties of a rural pastor. Natural science was interpreted to mean biology and chemistry, and social science to mean economics, sociology, history, and general psychology.²

This study was limited to the Methodist, Presbyterian, Baptist, and Congregational denominations. In 1916, there were 1,221 such religious bodies apart from the Twin Cities and Duluth. These were divided into:

TABLE I

<i>Denomination</i>	<i>No. of Church Bodies 1916</i>	<i>Per Cent of Total</i>
Methodist	572	46.8
Presbyterian	258	21.2
Baptist	197	16.1
Congregational	194	15.9
TOTAL	1221	100.0

¹ Attitudes are used in this study in the sense of expressed opinions.

² According to the Census of Religious Bodies of 1916, 44.6 per cent of the Church membership of the state was Roman Catholic. The different branches of the Lutheran Church included 28.4 per cent. The remainder were divided into Methodist 6.4, Presbyterian 3.5, Baptist 3.0, Congregational 2.5, and all other 11.6.

According to the latest official publications of the state bodies of these churches they had the following number and distribution of pastors in communities of 2,500 or less:

TABLE II

<i>Denomination</i>	<i>No. of Rural Preachers about 1925</i>	<i>Per Cent of Total</i>
Methodist	227	36.0
Presbyterian	132	21.0
Baptist	131	21.0
Congregational	140	22.0
<hr/> TOTAL	630	100.0

From this table it appears that the Methodists are the most prevalent of these four Protestant denominations and that the other three are about equal in number.

About 350 questionnaires were mailed to a random sample of 630 ministers (refer to Footnote 2) during the fall of 1926. The method of choosing them was to take every other one from the list. This gave 315. The other 35 were selected by a similar procedure. Returns were received from 136 or about 36 per cent of the total solicited. Of these returns 100 were selected for statistical analysis. It happened that only about this number gave complete returns so these were chosen. Those chosen consisted of 44 Methodists, 20 Presbyterians, 12 Baptists, and 24 Congregationalists. The sample is fairly representative of all except the Baptists.

The Information. Among other information, these ministers were asked to give their education, their years of preaching experience, their denomination, their attitudes toward union of the Protestant bodies and their attitudes toward the value of training in social and natural science in their pastoral work. They indicated their attitudes regarding the collegiate subjects by placing 1 for least value, 2 for average value, and 3 for exceptional value. Their

attitudes regarding church union were given in three steps: first, opposed to union; second, favorable to community union, and third, favorable to denominational union on the Canadian plan.

Preliminary Analysis. After some study it was determined to measure the relationship between education, denominational affiliation, and preaching experience, on the one hand, and their attitudes as represented by their expressed opinion, on the other.

The only measure we had of education was the quantity secured. According to this variable the ministers were divided into six groups as follows:

TABLE III

<i>Educational Group</i>	<i>Number in Group</i>
1. High school or equivalent	4
2. High school plus seminary	9
3. College but no high school or seminary	4
4. High school and college	18
5. College and seminary	8
6. High school, college, and seminary	57

These groups as we have arranged them are equivalent roughly to an increase in quantity of education. On this basis the coefficient of contingency between education and church union attitudes is .49³. The relation with social science attitudes is .27 and natural science attitudes is .16. This is on the basis of a three by sixfold classification. This means, that with a change of education, attitudes favorable to church union change most rapidly, those favorable to the study of social science change less rapidly, and those with respect to natural science the least. This conclusion is contingent upon the value of this coefficient as a measure of real relationship. The Pearsonian coefficient of gross

³ G. Udny Yule, *Introduction to the Theory of Statistics*, pp. 66-67, explains this mathematical formula.

correlation gives about the same results. The two are compared in the following table:

TABLE IV

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EDUCATION AND ATTITUDE

Type of Attitude	Coefficient of Mean Square Contingency	Pearsonian Coefficient of Correlation
Attitude regarding church union	.49	.43
The value of social science	.27	.15
The value of natural science	.16	.12

Preaching experience varied from 1 to 41 years. On this basis the ministers were divided into four groups as follows:

TABLE V

From 1 to 11 years	28
From 12 to 21 years	30
From 22 to 31 years	28
From 32 to 41 years	14
TOTAL	100

Divided on this basis the relationships are as follows:

TABLE VI

Type of Attitude	Mean Square Contingency	Coefficient of Correlation
Church union	.24	.17
Social science	.44	.05
Natural science	.32	.02

When we consider the relations between denominations and the attitudes we have the difficult problem of valuing denomination. How can the difference between the Baptists and the Congregationalists be expressed numerically? There are two methods which might be used. One is to assign a value of 1 to the least favorable and 4 to the most favorable denomination. The other is to predict differ-

ences on the basis of regression lines from other variables and assign these values to the denomination. This last method is somewhat more involved and possibly no more trustworthy than the first. Consequently we have arbitrarily assigned a value of 1 to the least favorable denomination and values 2, 3, and 4 to the others. The relationships are as follows:

TABLE VII

<i>Type of Attitude</i>	<i>Mean Square Contingency</i>	<i>Coefficient of Correlation</i>
Church union	.51	.35
Social science	.35	.27
Natural science	.47	.04

All the attitudes have some relationship with education, preaching experience, and denomination. Denomination seems to have the most important effect. At times the coefficient of contingency varies widely from the coefficient of correlation. It is known to be affected by the type of classification and has a narrow range.⁴ It has little practical value in a problem of this sort. It is evident that correlation work with such problems requires the gathering of the information in such forms that it may be handled by Pearsonian methods. A recognition of this principle will have value for future studies. Furthermore, the coefficient of mean square contingency is neither positive nor negative.

Multiple and Partial Correlation. As the problem stands at present we only know that some relationships exist. We do not know how much of the change in attitudes may be attributed separately to denomination, preaching experience, or education. Neither do we know whether changes in attitudes which are associated with changes in preaching experience are due to this change or

⁴ G. Udny Yule, *op. cit.*, p. 66. F. S. Chapin has secured the same results with the mean square contingency and bi-serial r's in comparison with the Pearsonian method.

to a change in some other variable. Such questions can not be settled except by multiple and partial correlation.⁵

The problems are as follows:

TABLE VIII

PROBLEM 1

- X¹ Attitude toward church union
- X² Denominational selection and environment
- X³ Quantity of education
- X⁴ Quantity of preaching experience

PROBLEM 2

- X⁵ Attitudes toward social science is substituted for X¹ above

PROBLEM 3

- X⁶ Attitudes toward natural science is substituted for X¹ above

RESULTS

*Coefficients of
Multiple Correlation*

- R¹ (234) = .445
- R⁵ (234) = .188
- R⁶ (234) = .410

*Coefficients of
Alienation*

- .802
- .965
- .832

COEFFICIENTS OF PARTIAL CORRELATION

PROBLEM 1

- r 12.34 = .402
- r 13.24 = .101
- r 14.23 = -.173

PROBLEM 2

- r 52.34 = .183
- r 53.24 = .021
- r 54.23 = -.077

PROBLEM 3

- r 62.34 = .337
- r 63.24 = .218
- r 64.23 = -.129

CONCLUSIONS

1. Preaching experience has a negative relationship with all three types of attitudes. This indicates that the new men in the field are more favorable to church union and social and natural science studies. Church union attitudes show the greatest change but even their rate of change is slow.

⁵ For an exposition of this method see any good statistical work. U. S. Census Monograph No. 5, 1920, *School Attendance in the United States*, has an appendix by F. A. Ross which is especially valuable for a statistical novice. F. S. Chapin has an article in the *Scientific Monthly*, March, 1917, in which he points out the significance of partial correlation as the experimental method in sociology. Methods of cross tabulation will serve in a rudimentary way.

2. Education in itself is a minor factor in attitudes regarding these subjects. This bears out the conclusion of Kelley that religious education and denominationalism go hand in hand.⁶

3. Denominational selection and environment is the most significant of the three factors in all these attitudes.

4. These three factors explain only a minor portion of the changes in attitudes. The coefficients of alienation vary from .802 to .965.

5. Pearsonian Coefficient of gross correlation is of more value for this type of study than the coefficient of mean-square-contingency. An adequate analysis can be made only by the use of partial and multiple correlation. Conclusions reached on any other basis are often entirely wrong.

6. For purposes of a problem such as this, attitudes should be placed in as many categories as are reliable. It would have been more exact if these attitudes had been expressed in qualitative range from 1 to 10 instead of from 1 to 3. Such increased range enables a closer measurement of co-variation and co-relation. Most independent variables vary more than the dependent when the dependent is expressed in a range of only three variations.⁷

7. As far as actual attitudes are correlated with expressions of attitude such as opinions, it is possible to study them statistically and to search for correlations. Such studies may be used to prove or to disprove speculative theories. However, where possible, the actual behavior is the best index of the attitude.⁸

⁶ *Theological Education in America*, by Robert L. Kelley, Chapter II, especially pp. 60-61.

⁷ See Floyd H. Allport and D. A. Hartman, *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XXXII, July, 1926, pp. 241-244, and *American Political Science Review*, Vol. XIX, No. 4, November, 1925, pp. 735-60, for a discussion of the attitude scales.

⁸ See Zimmerman on "Types of Farmers' Market Attitudes," *Journal of Social Forces*, Vol. 4, No. 4, pp. 591 ff., June, 1927.

THE CHASM BETWEEN SOCIAL SCIENCE AND SOCIAL REFORM

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HERE AND THERE we see social science and social reform working together, but the absence of such co-ordination is more conspicuous. As "social science" has become more scientific, it has grown more impersonal and less inclined to assume responsibility for social welfare programs. The social scientist makes studies in order to understand social life whereas the social reformer tries to find out what is wrong in order to correct evils. These two procedures are different in character; they represent different sets of occupational attitudes and lead to a chasm between science and welfare.

Recently, I attended a meeting of farmers called to discuss the cotton situation and the resultant living conditions. One farmer had been touring the state at his own expense in behalf of a plan to limit by law cotton acreage, forbidding the farmer to cultivate cotton on the same ground two years in succession. He made a vigorous, witty speech, apparently carrying the crowd with him more by reason of his enthusiasm and good humor than by his argument. He was followed and opposed by an equally earnest farmer, who had an entirely different solution. Practically all present were cotton farmers. Although there is a large State school located within less than two miles of the room where the meeting was held, no one was present from the college except this writer. I did not feel

in a critical mood, but had a keen sense of humility, almost of humiliation. Here were farmers asking only the opportunity of making an honest living, without trained and expert leadership, floundering around in search of a solution of their problems, discussing economic laws and human nature. And here in their locality was a great college into which the State is yearly pouring hundreds of thousands of dollars, unable or unwilling to furnish any adequate leadership in the immediate crisis or to offer a definite practical solution, or if in the nature of the case that be impossible, to point in the direction of the way out.

The institution to which I refer has a most excellent School of Agriculture, but I am not intending to make any criticism of its policy, work, or personnel. The contribution of such agencies to scientific farming and country life more than justifies the public expenditures made for their establishment and maintenance. The specific problem here presented is perhaps more sociological than strictly agricultural and economic.

The other night I heard Captain Richmond Hobson say that the fall of ancient Rome was due to drink. Distinguished writers have attributed the disintegration of the Roman Empire to the decay of the family and laxity in sexual relations. I am not offering some single new explanation, but want to call attention to a historical fact, namely, to the passing of the farmer-citizens who contributed the backbone of Rome, and the accompanying decline of agriculture. Wealthy plantation owners bought up the small farms, and in many cases the former owners drifted to Rome and other cities, often to become a charge on the public at the hands of politicians seeking favor. Has the social scientist only a theoretical interest in this problem?

The metropolitan papers of the great agricultural State in which I live give statistics showing what enormous crops

have been raised, and point with pride to this evidence of general prosperity. But whose prosperity? Wealth has been created, to be sure, but when the price of cotton is depressed far below the cost of production, the farmer finds that he has nothing for his labor and investment. It is exasperating to have the wise ones tell him that it is all a question of supply and demand, and he cannot repeal economic law. To this the intelligent farmer would be justified in replying: "To hell with economic laws!" In view of the way in which organized labor has taken into its own hands matters of wages and working conditions, and other economic groups have controlled supply and demand, it is puerile and insincere to tell the farmer that he is the hopeless and helpless victim in the grip of the ruthless law of supply and demand. Again, he is told to diversify and to raise more to the acre. Of course this is often good advice, but it does not solve the big problem. To raise grain instead of cotton, on land and in a climate suitable especially for the cultivation of cotton, when there is no market for grain, does not help much.

Perhaps the main trouble is not overproduction. The world needs our cotton. So with other agricultural products. But the prices received by farmers vary as much as 50 per cent from one year to the next. The alternation of unreasonably low and high prices is demoralizing. It is said that the American farmer is today staggering under a farm debt of over twelve billion dollars. There is needed an adequate national plan for the stabilization of the basic products of agriculture, taking care of excess supplies, and it seems that this can be best brought about by the development of co-operative marketing. But the chief point I am making is that the social sciences should give us some light on the question as to how agriculture may receive her share of the national income and be given equality with

other industries in our national economy, and how the purchasing power of our farming people may be restored and stabilized.

Some years past I asked a distinguished professor of Political Economy at our State University, which is located at the capital, whether it was not a short-sighted policy for the taxpayers to be spending so much for their University and their Legislature, when the latter made so little use of the former. For example, I explained, let us take taxation. Presumably the way toward a sound system of taxation is pointed out by specialists in the field in the University, while legislators, with little training and competence for such matters, make a mess of things, giving us a confused jumble of taxes instead of a rational and consistent system of taxation, based on sound principles. I asked my friend why members of the Legislature did not go to the highly trained University professors for advice and guidance. "Why," he exclaimed with some surprise and vehemence, "they in the practical field have a contempt for us. They do not think that we can tell them anything. We are merely theoretical."

Of course, in social science as in so-called natural science, investigations apparently far removed from the idea of utility often prove the most practical in the long run. But have we not now a fund of knowledge of social forces that might to advantage be put to immediate use for human welfare?

FASCIST THEORIES AND PRACTICES

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FASCISM arose in 1920 as a reaction against the disturbances which Italy, along with every other country, was experiencing during the post-war period. The theory, temper, and method of the movement, however, are due not to the exigencies of the moment, but to the temperament and experience of its leader.

Mussolini started out as an idealist of the left wing; he believed that only the direct action of the masses, as expressed through Socialism, could hope to regenerate society. But his dogmatism and egotism antagonized rather than awakened favorable response from the hard-headed masses. This brought on disillusionment. Disillusionment, which in the truly great usually evokes deeper purposes and poise, aroused in Mussolini bitterness, hatred, and a thirst for revenge.

His master Machiavelli furnished theoretical confirmation for this state of mind. Machiavelli declared that the masses are not to be trusted. Mussolini declares "the masses are asses"; democracy is a figment of the imagination; representative government is only oligarchy in disguise, a mere shadow, a tool by which politicians dupe fools. Machiavelli further asserted that every individual, every movement and institution, is justified only as it can serve the state. Mussolini declares man exists for the state and not the state for man.

In Nietzsche's theory of the Superman, Mussolini finds another plank for his platform. Since the masses cannot

be depended upon; since democracy is not and can never be; since even representative government does not and cannot be expected to function; and since the state is the only justifiable institution; it follows that some ONE must rule. The Superman! Mussolini adds in substance: "Behold, I am the Superman. I am the State"; and assumes the *portafogli* of seven different ministries.

It is upon such theories that Fascism has erected its practice. Fascism does not even pretend to be a rule of reason or suasion, of education, free discussion and enlightenment. Rather, it plainly states that it is the rule of compulsion, suppression, and physical coercion. Black shirts and caps, *fascie* and *squadre di combattimento* (fighting squads), marches and shining daggers have from the first furnished the dominant appeal. By that appeal some 200,000 young men, consisting mostly of idle ex-soldiers and recruits who did not get a chance to fight, were drawn into the ranks of Fascism. The "march on Rome" in October, 1922, was made possible by the same appeal.

An extra-constitutional Fascist Militia was created at the time. This not only was not disbanded after the *coup d'état* was accomplished, but it remains to this day the backbone of the fascist regime, and the nightmare of Italy. According to fascist official figures, Fascism has a total membership of 2,168,823; and since every *fascista* is supposed to be armed it is easily seen to what extent Fascism depends on arms.

Whoever travels in Italy today sees evidences of the black-shirted *fascisti* on every hand: at the depots, on steamers, trains, on street corners, in the hotels, theaters, churches . . . everywhere, literally everywhere the "black-shirt" imposes himself upon a people already overburdened with and tired of super-rulers and armies. During a recent visit to Italy we were "welcomed" at the wharves at

Brindisi by a *fascista*; as we passed the confines of Italy and France four young men—boys they were, not over sixteen or seventeen—dressed in black shirts and caps watched us pass, rifles in their hands. Even at the custom house at Modane the last person to see us off was a fascist colonel.

The methods employed by Fascism are too well known to need extended description. In the early stages Fascists forced large doses of castor oil into the throats of their opponents; they painted the latter's faces with oil paints; they sacked and burned homes, demolished newspaper plants and printing establishments, suppressed newspapers, flayed and lynched those differing with them.

By the law of 1926 the 9,148 Communes were deprived of self-government, which under the Constitution they had enjoyed; they are now governed by a *podesta* appointed by the central government. A free press has been abolished; by the law of July, 1924, rigidly enforced since January, 1925, only one daily newspaper of six pages is permitted to each province, *provided it favors the government*. No opposition newspapers or publications whatsoever are permitted; such as are being printed, and there are several, are issued in foreign countries, principally in France. Free speech is likewise entirely abolished in fascist Italy.

By decrees and the confirmatory laws of 1925 and 1926 the labor unions are abolished and in their stead a system of fascist-syndicalist unions is established, which has been further strengthened and broadened in scope by the Charter of Labor promulgated on April 21, 1927. The officials of these unions are appointed or confirmed by the central government, by authority of the Minister of Corporations, Mussolini himself. Both employers and employees are virtually deprived of freedom of contract. Strikes, lock-

outs, boycotts, obstructionism of any kind and sabotage are prohibited. Compulsory arbitration is provided for. The Charter, while apparently impartial, places far more severe restrictions upon labor than upon capital, the restrictions upon the former being specifically stated, while those placed upon the latter are vague and indefinite.¹ By the law of 1925 the working day was forcibly lengthened from eight to nine hours; by a law of 1927, wages were forcibly reduced. An attempt was made recently to reduce prices, but thus far it has met with no success. The Workers' Co-operatives which took Italian Labor nearly half a century to build have been utterly destroyed. Unemployment has been considerably reduced since 1922, as it has in every country, and cannot be attributed to Fascism.

Opponents of the fascist regime include some of the best blood of Italy; the number of those who have been severely punished, driven out of Italy or forced into voluntary exile, by the very nature of the case, is not now known.

Matteotti, a deputy of the opposition, was brutally murdered in June, 1926. Amendola, ex-minister, was beaten on two occasions and died from wounds. Pilati, an ex-deputy, was killed in bed beside his wife. Consolo, an eminent lawyer, was murdered in cold blood in the presence of his wife and children. Nitti, former minister, has been in forced exile for now nearly five years; his name was recently brought before the fascist high commission whose duty it is to punish anti-fascists residing abroad. Ferrero, the noted historian; Salvemini, the well-known professor of history at the University of Florence; Don Sturzo, the fighting priest, leader of the Catholic Party—all have been exiled. Benedetto Croce, much beloved philosopher and probably the greatest living Italian thinker,

¹ See "Full Text of the Italian Labor Charter," in *Current History*, June, 1927, pp. 445-447.

suffered serious persecution in October, 1926; his home was wrecked, his priceless library was practically ruined, and Croce himself barely escaped with his life. Roberto Bracco, the dramatist; Labriola, the political leader, suffered the same fate. Domizio Torrigiani, Grand Master of the Italian Freemasonry, was recently (June, 1926) exiled to the penal islands.

In October, 1926, on the occasion of the celebration of the fourth anniversary of the "March on Rome," two thousand persons were put under strict surveillance in Bologna alone and hundreds of arrests were made throughout Italy. During four months (1926-1927) between 500 and 900 persons (various estimates), mostly well-known persons, were condemned to imprisonment at hard labor, most of them being sent to the Lipari Islands, off the coast of Sicily, which are desolate, have no water, and are inhabited by criminals. Fascism follows its opponents abroad²; these are under fascist law subject to five years of imprisonment, and loss of nationality, while their families in Italy undergo constant, merciless persecution.

Mussolini's extraordinarily buoyant nationalism and flamboyant internationalism are also worthy of note. While the birthrate in Italy is comparatively high, 28.18, and the density is 336.1 per square mile, yet Mussolini is nagging the Italians to multiply themselves faster. This of course cannot have any great influence, and yet it does reflect the temper of the movement. Fascism subsidizes large families, encourages those sections and provinces

² NOTE: In connection with an arrest made in Los Angeles among other accusations made against one Pietro Gandolfo is this one: "They [the police] also assert that he is president of the Anti-Fascist Society in Los Angeles."—*Los Angeles Times*, Aug. 9, 1927, part I, p. 1.

Chiosone, deported from this country to Italy, was arrested by the Italian police, tried for anti-Fascist activities in the United States and sentenced to twelve and a half years imprisonment. "The chief evidence against him was his own letter to the Secretary of Labor begging as a political refugee the asylum of this republic." See *The New Republic*, August 10, 1927, p. 293.

which have or aim to attain higher birth rates, penalizes bachelors and childless families, makes it practically impossible for women to enter occupations outside the home, even in teaching, and forcibly relegates all women to the four "b's" of babies, buttons, brooms, and boiling pots.

Mussolini believes, as he has often proclaimed, that one Italian is worth any ten persons of any other nationality, much in the manner in which certain Nordics make similar claims. Moreover, Mussolini's dream of ancient Rome keeps pictures whirling in his head; he needs people, many of them; he would lead the Italian people into their erstwhile greatness—by a war of conquest perhaps.

While thus fostering this old quantitative concept of population, Mussolini does at the same time clamor for more and still more territory for Italy's redundant population. He is a sworn enemy of the League of Nations, his stumbling block. Recently he has forced all Italian employees of the League of Nations to register with him rather than with the Secretariat of the League as provided for in the Covenant. Wilson is *persona non grata*, to put it mildly, because he kept Italy from acquiring additional territory in the Adriatic and in Africa.

The Corfu incident of 1923 clearly illustrates Mussolini's temper and the tactics he would internationally employ if he dared. He has maintained a state of constant friction between Italy and France and more particularly between Italy and Yugoslavia. The virtual occupation of Albania under the Treaty of Tirana of November, 1926, created a delicate situation in the Balkans, which still continues to exist.

How long Fascism will last is a matter of conjecture. Porfirio Diaz lasted thirty years, but Mexico of 1877-1911 was one thing, Italy of 1927 is another. At present a cloud hovers over Italy and few dare speak. You ask Italians in

Italy what they think of Mussolini, and they put on an impassive look like a sea making ready for a storm. You ask again. They look about to make sure no one is observing, then they either produce some photographs of the Matteotti murder or they draw their index finger across their throat, and if you are Italian you understand. In spite of extraordinary vigilance thousands of the one-page hand bill entitled *Non Mollare* (Do not Yield) are said to be printed and circulated every day in Italy. Some of them have reached this writer.

Since November, 1925, four attempts have been made on the life of Mussolini, by Zaniboni on November 4, 1925, by Miss Gibson on April 7, 1926, by Lucetti on September 11, 1926, and by fifteen-year-old Anteo Zamboni on October 31, 1926. Capital punishment for attempts on the life of the King, the Minister, etc., abolished in 1888, was re-established in 1926. Foreigners on visiting Italy, however, call on and ride with Mussolini and smile approvingly. Italians *feel* and await the day!

The End? No one can foretell. There is no one in sight to pick up the reins. Of one thing we can be certain: he who makes religion of the sword must pass from the human scene, for deep in the human mind grows a flower whose face is fixed upon liberty and justice. That flower prefers death for liberty to life under tyranny.

TEACHING SOCIOLOGY BY A DISCUSSION GROUP METHOD

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IT IS PROBABLY true that the traditional methods of teaching college classes are due for a professional house-cleaning, if various preliminary dusting processes now appearing on the doorstep of that "sanctum sanctorum," the college classroom, have any significance. None other than Wallace Butterick, chairman of the General Education Board, has recently said, "A fault with education in America is too much teaching, too much prescribing of what shall be learned and how it shall be learned. Freedom is what is needed in education."¹

Such a statement is rich with meaning for those teachers familiar with recent advances in the fields of psychiatry and mental hygiene, or for others who have read *Sanderson of Oundle*. New philosophies of teaching are yearly weakening the girders of tradition which have been supporting the lecture-quiz system of teaching²; and even the customary discussion method of teaching has recently begun to get its share of criticism. Both methods are criticized largely because they are limited in their opportunities for the full development of the personalities of students—students who are seeking opportunities for social adjustment through a college course and its subject matter. Glenn

¹ Wallace Butterick, "What Is Education?" *Peabody Journal of Education*, November, 1925.

² The writer is aware that studies show that the lecture system is quite efficient in getting facts across for immediate recall. He believes, however, that knowledge of subject matter is not the sole goal of method—particularly in Sociology.

Frank suggests that we may need to turn the classroom into a place where students rather than teachers perform; to scrap the lecture system; and to use the psychological rather than a logical approach to teaching.³ Such a procedure is being tried on a large scale under the direction of Professor Meiklejohn—a special college being constructed for the purpose at the University of Wisconsin. Dean Seashore at the University of Iowa has already abandoned the traditional way of teaching and is following a policy of leaving the students alone (the instructor being present but not lecturing or quizzing) in a classroom full of planned opportunities for learning. He says, "The work under these conditions is quantitatively greater and qualitatively vastly superior to that done by methods of lectures, quizzes, and home assignments."⁴

No apology need be given, then, for introducing into the sociology classroom some features of instruction in harmony with the new philosophies of teaching. The writer has been using more or less original procedure with two hundred seventeen students in five different college sociology classes. The details of this procedure (to be referred to as the discussion group method) are outlined below, followed by a presentation of some of the social and psychological needs the new method fulfills.

1. *Arrangement of the Classroom.* The formal rows of chairs are absent and in their places are several inverted "U" shaped groups of seven chairs each. There are three chairs on each side of the "U" and one at the closed end. The open part of the "U" is for the instructor's handy chair which is moved from group to group during the first half of the hour. If there were available a number of tables, the writer believes that six or eight chairs about each of

³ Glenn Frank, "The Revolt Against Education," *School and Society*, June 12, 1926.

⁴ Carl E. Seashore, "The Individual in Mass Education," *School and Society*, May 8, 1926.

several tables would serve as desirable physical units for the discussion group method.

2. *Student Procedure.* When the class assembles the students seat themselves in appropriate groups. The student in the end chair is leader and the others, of course, are members of the discussion group. With a syllabus guide in hand and individual preparations in mind the group proceeds, under the guidance of the leader, to co-operatively arrive at more adequate solutions to their problems which they have accepted for study. They proceed in the light of the following suggestions:⁵

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE GROUP MEMBERS

1. Do I contribute my best thought and study?
2. Do I listen to the best thought and study of others?
3. Do I seek to share with others?
4. Do I express my views freely?
5. Do I accept an opinion only after it has had an opportunity to be criticized?
6. Am I willing to adjust my ideas if necessary?
7. Do I believe difference should unite a discussion group?

SUGGESTIONS FOR GROUP LEADERS

1. Do I state each question clearly?
2. Do I keep the discussion to the point?
3. Do I try to get everybody to discuss?
4. Do I seek to get all points of view presented?
5. Do I keep the discussion moving?
6. Do I summarize the discussion from time to time so that progress may be recognized?

These suggestions are included in the student's study syllabus and are called to the attention of the students every two weeks.

3. *Student Responsibilities.* The discussion group method will probably fail unless the students are given

⁵ Adapted from H. S. Elliott, "The How and the Why of Group Discussion"

proper assignments. These assignments must stimulate individual study and also provide a desire on the part of the student for assistance. These needs have been met, in part at least, by an especially prepared syllabus which is placed in the hands of the students. Here there are given assignments and basic readings which the writer has found meet the needs mentioned above. A sample lesson is given below to show the nature of the questions asked in this work:

THE FAMILY AND CHILD WELFARE

1. What do you conceive to be the primary functions of the family?
2. Evaluate the following types of family in the light of their contributions to the functions proposed: indefinite marital relations, polyandry, group marriage, polygyny, enforced monogamy, voluntary monogamy. (Types from Bushee, p. 225)
3. How have economic and social factors influenced the functioning and development of the types of family mentioned above in No. 2?
4. How may we account for the increase in divorce today? Is divorce to be classed as an evil? Propose remedies for the divorce situation.
5. How may one account for the ever decreasing size of the family? Is it a sign of a marked decrease in the growth of population? Why?
6. Suggest the "moral atmosphere" that needs to prevail in a family where children are being raised. Give reasons.
7. How would you test the effectiveness of community life from the point of view of child welfare? How well are we meeting the requirements?
8. Suggest general causes and social adjustments for the following: the dependent child, the illegitimate child, the neglected child, the delinquent child. How does Minnesota care for these?
9. How should a community organize to provide for the subjective side of child development?

READINGS

Beach, *Introduction to Sociology*, Chapters 20, 21.

Bushee, *Principles of Sociology*, Chapter 18.

Ellwood, *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*, Chapters 4-8.

Minnesota Syllabus of Social Work.

ADVANCED REFERENCE

Goodsell, *The History of the Family as a Social and Educational Institution.*

These questions are not easily answered. They involve much study. And students are glad for further ideas after they have done their best in individual preparation.

4. *Instructor's Procedure.* During the first half of the period the instructor visits the various groups—listening interestedly and participating from time to time, usually upon request of a student. The writer carries with him a small folding chair. At about the middle of the hour a pencil tap gives warning and two minutes later another quiet tap calls the class to order as the "class as a whole." The instructor may then lecture on the topic for the day, he may lead a discussion, or he may simply say, "Are there any questions?"

It is the writer's experience that the instructor will be fairly bombarded with eagerly proposed questions, on the average much more profound than those asked under the older system. This is probably true because many minds have taken time to analyze problems. One group in introductory sociology went so far as to point out the ambiguity in the concept "suggestion"—a point made by Dunlap in *Social Psychology*. (Dunlap's book was not available for students.) The discussion group method serves to prepare the way for effective informal lectures following questions that have come from the groups.

5. *Important Minor Regulations.* Each group has a new leader every day in order to give all students practice in leadership. Every eighth day the groups are completely changed and reorganized in order to break down cleavages, to enhance the process of socialization, and to prevent weak groups from continuing too long. A thorough fact test is

given at the end of each unit of work in order not to depart too far from older procedures and to check up on some students who may take advantage of the freer system. The work of the course is supplemented with individual conferences for each student during which time he is given suggestions for further study to meet his particular needs. These needs have been partially determined by a preliminary social opinions survey.⁶

Such is the outline of the detailed procedure of the discussion group method. Now, there are several tests of this new method of teaching Sociology. First to be examined, of course, is the effectiveness of the method in transferring subject matter to the students. Second, perhaps, is the efficiency of the method in developing socialized attitudes in students. A third test is the interest of students in the method, and a fourth is the degree to which the practical phases of the method are in harmony with social principles of education. We propose to take these matters up briefly in the following pages.

I

THE DISCUSSION GROUP METHOD AND SUBJECT MATTER

Table I, presented below, shows a comparison of three distributions made by large groups of students on a fact test in Sociology which had been tested for its reliability. Inspection will show that the relative accomplishment of the students in the three terms was practically the same. The slight advantage goes to the traditional discussion method. However, one cannot tell to what factor the slight variation may be due. The discussion group method is so close in effectiveness to the other method that no one can successfully claim that when the students are left alone

⁶ L. D. Zeleny, "A Measure of Social Opinions of Students," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, September-October, 1926.

they do poor work. Then, too, when an instructor knows the situation as indicated in the table and checks to find what units of work the students are failing to understand, it is a comparatively simple matter to make a very satisfactory adjustment.

TABLE I

Showing the distribution of fact test scores before and after Sociology I, under two methods.

	FALL TERM			WINTER TERM			SPRING TERM		
	Trad. Discussion Meth.			Discussion Group Meth.			Discussion Group Meth.		
	BEFORE	AFTER	DIFF.	BEFORE	AFTER	DIFF.	BEFORE	AFTER	DIFF.
No.	82	82		86	86		88	88	
Range	16-42	30-71		18-44	32-66		17-46	32-70	
Q3	33.780	57.250	23.470	36.590	55.125	18.535	35.330	56.857	21.527
Q2	29.830	53.670	23.840	30.000	52.330	22.330	31.714	50.714	19.030
Q1	26.025	46.875	20.850	26.750	46.500	20.250	29.500	45.430	15.930
Q	3.877	5.137		4.920	4.310		2.960	5.713	

II

THE DISCUSSION GROUP METHOD AND SOCIAL OPINIONS

Table II shows a comparison of the same three large groups of students on a statistically reliable opinion test ($r = .89$). The accomplishment can be seen to be practically the same. The advantage, however, goes to the traditional discussion method. One can honestly say that the students have not "fallen down" under the discussion group method.

TABLE II

Showing the distribution of opinions survey scores before and after Sociology I under two methods

	FALL TERM			WINTER TERM			SPRING TERM		
	Trad. Discussion Meth.			Discussion Group Meth.			Discussion Group Meth.		
	BEFORE	AFTER	DIFF.	BEFORE	AFTER	DIFF.	BEFORE	AFTER	DIFF.
No.	80	80		85	85		85	85	
Range	18-59	43-68		22-58	42-67		22-61	40-68	
Q3	49	61.570	12.570	51.955	62.840	10.880	49.875	60.840	10.965
Q2	45.170	58.710	13.540	47.310	59.120	11.810	43.875	57.580	13.705
Q1	38.670	53.000	15.330	42.500	54.530	12.030	39.531	52.620	13.090
Q	5.165	4.285		4.727	4.155		5.172	4.112	

III

THE DISCUSSION GROUP METHOD AND STUDENT INTEREST

Student interest in the discussion group method seems to be unusually strong. Immediately after a week's vacation, before which ninety-five students had used the discussion group method for five weeks, questions were answered as indicated in Tables III and IV below. The student statements were not signed and the students were given a lecture on the value of truth in scientific investigation.

TABLE III

Showing the number and per cent of ninety-five students rating the effect of the group discussion method upon desire to study. (Five groupings)

	Very good No. per ct.	Good No. per ct.	Average No. per ct.	Poor No. per ct.	V.P. No. per ct.
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1. What effect has the discussion group method upon your desire to study?	24	25	50	53	21	22	0	0	0	0
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TABLE IV

Showing the organized opinion of ninety-five students on the "interestingness" of the method

	More No. per ct.	Same No. per ct.	Less No. per ct.
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2. Does the discussion group method make the class more or less interesting than the best discussion method?	88	93	4	4	3	3
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3. Does the discussion group method make the class more or less interesting than the best lecture method?	76	80	11	12	8	8
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Probably student opinions like these need to be discounted a good deal. However, the tendency is to favor markedly the discussion group method.

IV

SOCIAL PRINCIPLES OF EDUCATION AND THE DISCUSSION
GROUP METHOD

Professor Burnham in that educational classic *The Normal Mind*, indicates what a modern mental hygienist and educational sociologist believes are social principles of education.⁷ We shall consider our method in the light of these principles.

Principle 1. *The individual should be trained by membership in a real and natural social group rather than talked to about social duty.* The method does just that. Students do not need to say things to please the teacher. They may say what they believe—and when a person says a thing that is worthy it is more likely to become a part of his thinking than when some one else says the same thing. It has been the experience of the writer that practically all members of all discussion groups participate eagerly, happily and intently in the work of the period.

Principle 2. *The training should develop integration of the personality in facing the distracting stimuli of the social group.* This, in part, refers to the balance of complexes. Of course, a great deal of personality integration takes place by means of the understanding of subject matter alone. However, in a discussion group the student has an opportunity to air freely his social attitude complexes and after that he will have unsocial ideas corrected or social ideas reinforced by the disapproval and approval of the group. This checking process cannot avoid taking place oftener than in a large class under the traditional discussion method or in a lecture class where less attention can be given to individual attitudes. Then, too, in a small discussion group one gets many worthy stimuli from others.

⁷ W. H. Burnham, *The Normal Mind*, pp. 244 ff.

Principle 3. *One should be trained to individual responsibility in the group.* One can "get by" without preparation in a large class, but when a student is one of seven responsible to six other fellow students he will be stimulated to prepare even though it is only in order to "save his face" before his fellow students.

Principle 4. *One should be trained in conditions that give opportunity for social success.* There are always a few in any ordinary class who have the ego well developed and enjoy participating orally—while others with the same knowledge or sometimes superior power and knowledge sit back or hesitate in confusion when asked to talk before a large class. The latter individuals are more or less disapproved and tend to develop a sense of inferiority which may be a movement in the direction of a "shut-in" personality as contrasted with social personality. The discussion group method, on the other hand, provides a more favorable opportunity for the introverted individual to express himself and taste the joy of accomplishment which he deserves.

Principle 5. *All this implies freedom.* The discussion group method as outlined in this paper does not require the constant direction of an instructor. Students are alone a good part of this time. There is no forcing. There are no daily assignments. The complete assignment is made at the beginning of the term. This means that students may study at their own convenience, provided they keep up to date.

CONCLUSION

This article has pointed out the need felt by a number of educational leaders for a freer, more democratic and more social method of college teaching. The writer has proposed a method to meet this need in Sociology⁸ It leaves the

⁸ The writer realizes that some public schools have used the discussion group method and that some teachers, like Kilpatrick, use discussion groups outside of class. The originality here is probably in the combination of elements.

students in groups to discuss, with the aid of a prepared question guide, materials they have already studied individually. The writer has shown that, within the limits of the data available, the discussion group method is practically as efficient in getting to students subject matter and social opinions as is the traditional discussion method. This fact will meet quite successfully the argument that when students are left alone they "fall down" in their work. Of course, the students have a study and discussion guide.

The discussion group method, however, would not be able to merit much attention if no more than reasonable subject matter efficiency could be claimed for it. Its real strength lies in the fact that it is probably a joy to the students—this is true for the students who have tried the method if their own organized statements mean anything. Now, any system of teaching that may reasonably maintain standards of accomplishment and become fun at the same time deserves further study and further attention. Furthermore, the discussion group method is in harmony with the newest social principles of education as expressed by William H. Burnham. It gives opportunities for freedom of discussion, for the practice of tolerance, for holding ideas only after criticism, and for the practice of co-operation. It gives opportunities for adjustment to a more or less natural group. These advantages are peculiar to the discussion group method.

In conclusion, the writer desires to make it clear that the data in this article are not sufficient to prove the case for the discussion group method. These data can be collected only after years of experimentation. The writer does believe that the data and the arguments are sufficient to suggest that one may use the discussion group method without fear of any marked loss in accomplishment and with great hope for added social and morale values.

LEADERSHIP AND SOCIAL DISTANCE

EMORY S. BOGARDUS

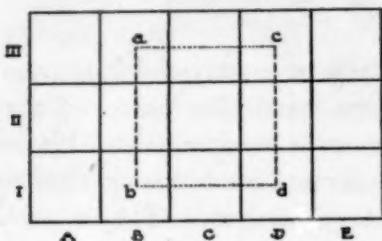
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A LEADER is a person (1) who surpasses his fellows in achieving in some particular plane of activity, and (2) whose achievement is recognized by his fellows as being superior. A leader and his followers thus function in similar vertical planes of activity. They occupy, however, different horizontal levels of achievement within these vertical planes. Hence, there is vertical social distance between a leader and his followers, and horizontal social distance, for instance, between leaders in different types of activity.

By doing something better than his fellows a person comes to occupy a higher level than his fellows in some vertical plane of activity. Human activities may be classified into as many types or vertical planes, as there are different skills. Within each vertical plane the persons may be located at a given time on different levels of achievement—a small percentage low, a large percentage mediocre or average, and a small percentage high. The latter are leaders, and the distances between them and their followers represent leadership distances.

The level, or rating, of a person in a given vertical plane of activity depends as much if not more, on recognition, as on achievement. But achievement is recognized or not, according to its relation to what the group rates worth while. Group values thus are indications of the types of achievement that are likely to be recognized and of the kind of leaders that are likely to appear.

Different types of achievement are rated according to different standards. In any group there is a scale of achievement ratings, and hence a person may try out for a high or low type of achievement. These variations in recognition that are accorded different skills by a group constitute a special type of leadership distances.



I, II, III — Different horizontal levels of achievement.

A, B, C, D, E, F — Different vertical planes of achievement.

a, c — Sample leaders.

b, d — Sample followers.

a-b, c-d — Sample vertical distances.

a-c, b-d — Sample horizontal distances.

VERTICAL SOCIAL DISTANCE

But leadership distance usually implies social distance, despite the best efforts of the leader to the contrary. Achievement tends to set a person off from his fellows. The recognition ordinarily given a leader may take the form of rank, position, honors. But these social forms help to create or magnify social distances.

These distances are either vertical or horizontal. The former imply that persons occupy pedestals of different degrees or heights of recognition; the latter indicate, for instance, that some persons occupy one set of achievement pedestals, and other persons, another set of achievement pedestals of similar social rank or value.

Common defeats and common losses, on the other hand, reduce all to a common level of fellow-feeling and eliminate both vertical distance and horizontal distance. Unsuccessful "competitors," no matter how worthy, feel a loss of social status; they may be tempted to blame the successful leader for their own lack of success, or set themselves apart from the successful leader and thus deliberately though unwittingly, create social distance.

But the social distance that is created when one member of a group becomes a leader may be partly overcome if there be a high degree of group loyalty, or of pride in the leader on the part of followers. To the extent that the members of a group are able to see that their status is lifted by the achievement of the leader, to that extent is the social distance between themselves and their leader overcome. Unfortunately, however, personal antagonisms blind possible followers to the value of the achievements of leaders.

Moreover, to the degree that all the members of a group become leaders in various types, or vertical planes, of activity, to that degree is the status of each person preserved or built up, and to that degree is the rise of social distance unnecessary. Social distance is furthered when certain persons are condemned to low status levels in all phases of group life and others become universally dominant. Sometimes inferiority complexes account for low status, and sometimes social rules are responsible.

Although leadership means vertical social distance, the opposite does not necessarily follow. Extensive vertical distance does not connote leadership-followership relations; it may remove possible leaders too far from possible followers. The latter do not own the former.

In a democracy the possibility of upward vertical mobility is great. Leadership is competitive. In hierarchical society social distances are fixed and more or less un-

changeable. But in a democracy it is not unthinkable for a leader to train certain of his followers so that some may ultimately surpass him and take his position of leadership from him.

It is possible to classify the vertical planes of achievement or "skills" ranging on one side from an extrovertive vertical plane, such as skill in boxing, to an introvertive plane at the other extreme, such as composing esoteric poetry. A person occupying a high place of achievement and leadership in one vertical plane, usually occupies a lower plane in a few other fields, and a very low place in other fields.

We are accustomed to think of leadership as being co-terminous with personality, but this judgment is not wholly correct. An individual member of a group with a developed personality may be a leader in one field and a follower in several other fields at the same time. Leadership, thus, is related to vertical planes of achievement as much as to personality.

HORIZONTAL SOCIAL DISTANCE

Extensive horizontal social distance (distance between peers), or no horizontal distance are both inimical to leadership. In fact, the greater the horizontal distance the less likely that vertical distance will mean leadership. Even though other factors be quite equal, the horizontal distance between Fundamentalists and Modernists is so great that a person of high rank in one of these vertical planes of achievement has little constructive influence in the other fields of activity. A high-ranking anarchist has little leadership influence over an outstanding capitalist, and *vice versa*.

Horizontal distance may exist between leaders in different vertical fields of achievement, or it may occur within a

single field. In the former case it is likely to be due to lack of social contacts and understanding. In the latter type of situation it is often due to social competition.

Complete absence of horizontal distance, however, may eliminate leadership. Intimacy dissipates the prestige halo that gives a person a margin of leadership. To the extent that leadership rests on sheer prestige, it is easily punctured by intimacy.

Intimacy or the absence of social distance often destroys respect for a leader, and as a result the special influence of a leader is gone. Familiarity dissipates due recognition. Acquaintance with a leader's weaknesses paralyzes respect for his strong or leadership points. Closeness to a mountain obscures a full view of its entirety; only an unattractive section may be visible. A certain measure of horizontal social distance is necessary in order to give that perspective which is required for adequate valuation. Social proximity may cause little weaknesses to be exaggerated and real ability to be overlooked.

Leadership, however, may flourish even when horizontal distance is almost nil. It is maintained under two sets of circumstances: (1) When the leader exerts influence by virtue of achievement in easily discernible, objective, and highly valued skills, such as physical skills. Superior skill in surgery, in aviation, or in football overcomes the handicaps of social proximity fairly well. (2) Where intimacy is accompanied by a deep-seated and unflagging affection, leadership is easily maintained. Great affection for a parent or a teacher will cause a son or daughter or a pupil to remain a faithful follower despite gross weaknesses in the life and character of the leader.

Even though social distances, either horizontal or vertical, be chasmic, leadership influence may operate. Pseudo-followership may take place under these untoward

conditions for policy's sake, for fear of losing social position, or for sake of future gain.

When a person's achievements in one vertical plane of activities give him prestige and special influence in other fields of activity, he becomes a pseudo-leader in the latter connections. Lack of careful discrimination on the part of followers generally accounts for pseudo-leadership.

In conclusion, it is submitted that an approach to the study of leadership may be made through the measurement of both horizontal and vertical distances. To the extent that social distance can be charted, light will be thrown on the underlying conditions of leadership.

Book Notes

AN INTRODUCTION TO SOCIOLOGY. A Behavioristic Study of American Society. Edited by Jerome Davis and Harry Elmer Barnes. With the collaboration of L. L. Bernard, Seba Eldridge, F. H. Hankins, Ellsworth Huntington, and M. M. Willey. D. C. Heath and Company, New York, 1927, pp. xxiv+916.

READINGS IN SOCIOLOGY. Edited by Jerome Davis and Harry Elmer Barnes, with collaborators. D. C. Heath and Company, New York, 1927, pp. xviii+1065.

A book should first be considered in the light of its proposed aims, and second, its aims should be scrutinized. The claims of these companion volumes to a hearing and widespread use are set forth clearly by Professor Jerome Davis. In the first place the volumes are "a joint creative product of many minds." This work represents the activity of a larger array of able collaborators than any other in its field. A certain amount of overlapping will necessarily result, where each of a number of collaborators is given rein to present his own point of view freely. The volumes, however, are remarkably free from contradictions, when it is considered that extensive materials are offered from fields ranging from human geography through culture history to social psychology. Although there will be some critics, doubtless, who will feel that the ensemble constitutes an introduction to social science, or an excellent foundation for an introduction to sociology rather than a direct introduction to sociology itself, a skillful teacher can meet the situation to the advantage of the student and concentrate upon the extraction of sociological principles.

The large place given to a cultural approach is commendable, and the difficult problem of making appropriate choices of topics and of readings has been handled with discrimination. The significance of the volumes as making "a behavioristic study of American society" is not entirely clear. While the "case problems" given at the close of the chapters vary considerably in merit, they represent an excellent technique for study. The type of "cases" cited in the *Readings* in the chapter on "Race Conflicts" has special merit. The correla-

tion of the organization of the *Readings* with the *Introduction* is carefully worked out. The two volumes together comprise a large-scale handbook, in fact a "hand-library" on group life that is both unique and comprehensive.

The scope of these volumes is such that not many omissions can be found. While the 2,000 pages of materials should not be enlarged, these two volumes in a way call for a third, namely, one dealing first with sociology as a scientific unit, separate in theory at least from its main social science correlates; second, with distinct sociological concepts and processes; and third, with methods of sociological study and research so as to afford the student increased facility in making social case analyses. Courageous and comprehensive in conception, written in facile style, printed attractively, these volumes deserve a wide, fair, and open-minded usage.

E. S. B.

AN INTRODUCTION TO SOCIOLOGY. By WILSON D. WALLIS.
Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York, 1927, pp. xv+431.

A sociology developed by an anthropologist is especially significant. Breadth of view, historical sweep, poise—these are some of the traits that Dr. Wallis brings to his important task. A history of "social life in culture perspective" is related, followed by a brief history of social theory. Analyses are next made of the "external factors" and of the "cultural and psychological factors" influencing social and group life. "Social problems" occupy liberal space, with the "trend of social development" bringing the treatise to a close.

The strength of the book lies in its natural stress on the rôle of culture in social development and organization. While it will be viewed by some readers as a historical treatise on social anthropology rather than a treatise on sociology, its major theme is that "the individual is oriented, not in human civilization, but in the culture group," or that the individual is not human-minded but group-minded, and that no culture so far developed is world-wide. The author presents an enlightening interpretation of that culture history which is so necessary to the understanding of sociology, and in that lives up to the title of his book, *An Introduction to Sociology*.

E. S. B.

ACROSS ARTIC AMERICA: Narrative of the Fifth Thule Expedition. By KNUD RASMUSSEN. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London, 1927, pp. xx+388.

In more ways than one we have here a really remarkable book. In the first place it is immensely attractive in its make-up. The format is excellent and the illustrations are extraordinary. The publisher has done his work well. As for the author, it is evident that he possesses poetic imagination and true literary style, as well as great prowess as an Arctic traveler and an intelligent interest in anthropological science.

Rasmussen is a Danish native of Greenland, with a strain of Eskimo blood and speaking the Eskimo language as his mother tongue. Accompanied by a young Greenland Eskimo man and woman, cousins to each other, he traveled by dog-sled from northern Greenland along the shores of the Arctic through Alaska and into Eastern, i.e., Eskimo, Siberia. The journey occupied three years, but this includes a preliminary expedition to the East Hudson Bay region for scientific exploration with a group of seven Danish scientists. After some months there, Rasmussen struck out along the desolate Arctic shore with his companions—living after the Eskimo fashion both on the trail and in the igloos of the various tribes.

Here he was cordially received, and his familiarity with the Eskimo tongue and Eskimo folkways gave him an almost unparalleled entrance into the homes and hearts of those most interesting and likeable people. All of which is described with great vividness and charm by pen and camera.

From the standpoint of anthropological research Rasmussen's expedition possesses most extraordinary interest. In the first place, his intimate familiarity with Eskimo life and language saved him from the baffling hindrance of trying to work through an interpreter, with the dire consequences for fruitful research that it necessarily entails. In the second place, he went with a working hypothesis that proved not only apparently true in the end, but constituted a fine thread on which to string the beads of his skillful interviews and careful observations, both archaeological and sociological.

The hypothesis referred to is that the Eskimos of Greenland and the northern region of Canada originally wandered eastward from Alaska, and that their language, their folklore, and their culture as a whole are at bottom everywhere the same. This seemed to be corroborated by the fact that his Greenland Eskimo speech was perfectly understandable by practically all the tribes scattered through-

out that vast Arctic wilderness. Moreover, the legends and folklore of Greenland found their counterpart, down to details in some cases, among tribes that had lost all recollection of their kinsmen since their separation a few centuries before.

For those whose interest in the Eskimo is less scientific or academic, Rasmussen's description of the changed and changing life of those more directly under the influence of Canadian and American governmental, missionary, and educational enterprises, is exceedingly instructive and interesting.

C. M. C.

THE LABOR PROBLEM IN THE UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN. By WARREN B. CATLIN. Harper and Brothers, New York, 1926, pp. x+659.

This is a book noteworthy for its well-planned analysis of the entire field of labor. Professor Catlin has done a vast amount of research work and the chief value of it will be found in the splendid organization of the material. He has considered that the central problem is the discovery of the root causes of discontent in the house of industry. The public, the government, the laborer, and the employer are investigated during the course of the inquiry, and the conclusions are finely rationalized. The comparison of the labor problem in the United States with that of Great Britain is by no means one that can be lightly accomplished, but in most respects the task has met with creditable success. What interested me most, however, was the working creed formulated by Professor Catlin and which appears as the conclusion of his splendid book. Briefly stated, the creed states that, (1) health, intellectual freedom, culture, and morality are more important than material prosperity and advancement; (2) consumers, as the all-inclusive group, are entitled to a square deal, and should be protected from interruptions in service and from exploitation either by the manufacturers, the merchant, or the labor union; (3) it is particularly the function of the state, as the representative and guardian of the common welfare, to set up and enforce minimum standards for the conduct of industry and trade, so that the public and social interests may not be invaded or neglected in the shortsighted struggle for private gain; and (4) it is reasonable to believe that such machinery for consultation and mutual interchange of information between the parties can be developed and such a spirit of co-operation cultivated, that disputes will be less frequent, and that when they occur they will be settled promptly and peaceably.

M. J. V.

SOCIOLOGIE UND SOCIALWISSENSCHAFTEN IN AMERIKA. By ANDREAS WALThER. G. Braun, Karlsruhe, Germany, 1927, pp. 143.

By virtue of this compact treatise, Professor Walther has laid American sociology under great indebtedness to him. Through him American sociologists and their work are succinctly introduced to Germany. In consequence, German sociologists need no longer be ignorant of the sociological movement in the United States. As the late René Worms achieved the unique distinction of being the only French sociologist who maintained a close touch with American writers in sociology, so Andreas Walther may now lay claim to a similar distinction among German sociologists.

The rise of American sociology and social psychology occupies the first two-fifths of the book. Social politics, social religion, social problems courses in the public schools, social surveys and research in the colleges and universities, and the nature of the sociological curricula—these topics comprise the leading themes of the remainder of the discussion. The method is frankly descriptive and historical; the style is lucid. Both adverse criticism and comparative evaluations are withheld; the general viewpoint is friendly, reflecting the author's engaging personality as well as earnest desire to present a true picture and to be constructive rather than destructive or cynical. It is remarkable that a scholar from another country while on a brief sojourn should be able to see American sociology in so correct a perspective—a result partly due to the author's procedure of supplementing extensive reading by informal and personal interviews at the various centers of sociology in the United States. While in the limited space used by Professor Walther it is hardly possible to give an exhaustive treatment of a large field of thought and endeavor, the author has been unusually successful in presenting a well-balanced picture.

E. S. B.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF THE FAMILY. By ERNEST R. GROVES. J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia, London, and Chicago, 1927.

This book is published as one of Lippincott's Family Life Series, edited by Benjamin R. Andrews, Ph. D., Teachers College, Columbia University. It is designed as a text-book for normal schools and colleges. It has for its purpose "the description of the family in the United States, its outstanding problems, and the suggestion of means for its improvement." It emphasizes the social function of the fam-

ily "as a human relationship ever in process of adjustment (in its attempt to minister to the needs of both the individual and the group), sensitive to the total social situation, and never a standardized and completed form of human activity."

The book gives little attention to the historical study aside from a chapter on the primitive family and one on the American family. Groves makes the statement: "It was, of course, the European family that was transported to the western shores, particularly the traditional family of England." One wishes that he had given at least a brief survey of this family.

The value of the book lies in its treatment of the problems of the present day family in the United States, of the social significance of the family and of the need for understanding the vital bearing interfamily and parent-child relationships have upon personality. Matrimonial counsel, parent education, and recent developments in the education of children are discussed. An appendix furnishes a bibliography on each chapter with suggested topics for discussion and subjects for reports, helpful to the teacher.

The book will serve as an excellent text for the beginning classes and as a special reference text on the modern family for the more advanced classes. In fact, it makes a definite contribution to the current widespread interest in the family. Larger type in the printing of the book and less crowding of the page would have enhanced its appeal to the reader.

B. A. McC.

MARX ENGELS: Gesamtausgabe. Erste Abteilung, Band 1, Erster halbband. Edited by D. Rjaznov. Marx-Engels-Archiv, Frankfort, Germany, 1927, pp. lxxxiv+626.

In this, the first volume of an extensive series, seven documents written and published by Marx from 1839 to 1844 are brought together—not the least significant being Marx's dissertation for the Doctor of Philosophy degree (1841) on the difference between the democratic and the epicurean philosophies. It is Karl Marx, Ph. D., thus, who occupies a first and dominant place. Then comes Marx the poet—revealed in two short poems of human color and sympathy, "Der Spielmann" and "Nachtliebe." Marx the political philosopher appears in the selection from his critique of the Hegelian *Staatsrechts*. And so on, throughout carefully selected source materials which disclose Marx's well-known scholarly, logical, and often ponderous mind.

E. S. B.

READINGS IN URBAN SOCIOLOGY. SCOTT E. W. BEDFORD.
D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1927.

This book contains over five hundred selections from various sources on city life and urban problems. With the Appendices and Index, it includes nine hundred pages. The readings are classified in chapters devoted to the importance, history, location, and growth of cities; to city planning, problems of transportation and traffic, of aesthetics and architecture, of public health and safety, and of housing. Under the chapter, "The Community and the Neighborhood," recreation, education, and religion are discussed. "Social Adjustment" presents problems of industry, the family, delinquency, immigration, race, disaster.

Each chapter is followed by a classified bibliography, questions for discussions and study, topics for investigation, and suggested field trips in Chicago and New York.

One misses some reference to the papers in the *Proceedings of the American Sociological Society* for 1925, at which time the general subject was "The City," and one should have liked the inclusion of some citations from the sociologists on the concepts of social organization as a background for the treatment of the city here presented.

B. A. McC.

PUBLIC WELFARE ADMINISTRATION IN THE UNITED STATES: Select Document^c. By SOPHONISBA P. BRECKINRIDGE. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1927, pp. xxiii+786.

This volume is a collection of historical documents designed to acquaint the social worker with the development and present status of "public welfare" in the United States. The material is arranged to show the development from local to national responsibility, the increasing powers of the central government over local units, the increasing standardization of methods and policies, and the widening conception of the function of public welfare organizations. The subject matter is necessarily highly technical and it has not been possible to indicate the changing economic, political, and cultural background which must be known in order to evaluate these documents intelligently. The approach is, however, from the point of view of the social validity of the policies in various epochs and the administrative efficiency of the changing methods. It is from such documents that the history of the public welfare movement will eventually be written.

E. F. Y.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF PLAY ACTIVITIES. By HARVEY C. LEHMAN and PAUL A. WITTY. A. S. Barnes and Company, New York, 1927, pp. xv+242.

This study represents an attempt to measure quantitatively the play behavior of persons from five to twenty-two years of age residing in certain communities, with special reference to the effect on play behavior of such variables as age, sex, race, season, intelligence, community, etc. The findings are clearly stated and illustrated by a series of tables and figures. The chief contribution however, is the development of a technique by means of which the material was obtained. The lack of adequate techniques heretofore has militated against an adequate understanding of play. This book will prove of interest to students of play life. They will find in it a model of research as well as a contribution to our knowledge of play behavior. Quantitative studies of this character, however, must be supplemented by more complete life-histories of persons participating in play activities and descriptive analyses of play situations which occasion and condition the forms of play behavior before a thorough-going understanding of play life may be obtained. M. H. N.

THE NORTH CAROLINA CHAIN GANG: A Study of County Convict Road Work. By JESSE F. STEINER and ROY M. BROWN. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1927, pp. viii+194.

While this book limits itself to a field study of conditions in North Carolina, it is probably true that the picture would not differ materially had it been taken in any other section of the country employing the chain gang. The findings well illustrate the difficulty of developing an efficient penal institution under strictly local auspices. While written from the scholarly point of view, it is a clear cut indictment of present arrangements. The volume is illustrated and has a bibliography. Lay readers as well as students will find it interesting and worth while. E. F. Y.

JUVENILE COURTS IN THE UNITED STATES. By HERBERT H. LOW. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1927, pp. xvii+277.

This is a thorough-going exposition of the philosophy, history, policies, and procedures of the juvenile court in the United States. It is written in scholarly style with full bibliographic and case citations. While the author makes out a splendid case for the juvenile court, his point of view is objective and critical. Of particular interest is the discussion regarding the future of the juvenile court and the growth of the family court idea. E. F. Y.

PROFESSIONAL CODES. By BENSON Y. LANDIS. Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1927, pp. xii+108. The origins of codes as mechanisms of social control are considered in this valuable and scholarly monograph. Shall codes be observable rules or remote ideals—is an unsettled question, and even in the older organizations, such as lawyers and doctors, codes are still "largely evidences of wishful thinking."

WHAT CALIFORNIA HAS DONE TO PROTECT THE WOMEN WORKERS. By Industrial Welfare Commission, San Francisco and Los Angeles, 1927, pp. 27. Ably supports with data the statement that "California leads the United States in the legislation passed and enforced for the benefit and protection of women workers."

THE AMERICANIZATION OF LABOR. By ROBERT W. DUNN. International Publishers, New York, 1927, pp. 272. Discusses the "employers' offensive" "against the trade unions as illustrated by the open shop, company welfare work, the company union, personal activities, insurance, and employee stock ownership.

PRINCIPLE OF ABNORMAL PSYCHOLOGY. By EDMUND S. CONKLIN. Henry Holt & Company, pp. vii+457. A fair, open-minded statement of phenomena of psychosis and psychoneurosis, followed by an interesting discussion of hypnotism, spiritism, dreams, mental effects of drugs, feeble-mindedness and genius.

SOCIAL CURRENTS IN JAPAN. By HARRY E. WILDES. The University of Chicago Press, 1927, pp. ix+391. A discussion of censorship of the press in Japan, coupled with a presentation of the foreign press in Japan and its task of interpreting Japanese customs and life. Extensively annotated.

THE PENNSYLVANIA GERMANS. By JESSE L. ROSENBERGER. University of Chicago Press, 1927, pp. x+173. A historical and descriptive account of the migration, and the views and customs of the German settlers in Lancaster, Germantown, and related communities in Pennsylvania.

AN AFRICA FOR AFRICANS. By ARTHUR S. CRIPPS. Longmans, Green & Co., 1927, pp. xiv+203. This is an impassioned plea on behalf of the natives of the British Colony of Southern Rhodesia for more territory and freedom in which their self realization may be attained.

PRE-ALPHABET DAYS. By OTTO F. EGE. Norman T. A. Munder & Co., Inc., Baltimore, 1927, pp. 21. An elegant brochure beautifully illustrated, discusses the symbolism which led to the origin of the alphabet.

THE MEDICAL, SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, MORAL, AND RELIGIOUS ASPECTS OF BIRTH CONTROL. Third edition. By S. ADOLPHUS KNOFF, American Birth Control League, New York, 1927, pp. 66.

THE WAR MYTH IN UNITED STATES HISTORY. By C. H. HAMLIN. Vanguard Press, Inc., New York, 1927, pp. 93 ff.

Periodical Notes

The Significance of Changing Methods in Relief Giving. How may the fact be explained that according to figures gathered from 96 family agencies (both public and private) three times as much is being spent for maternal relief as was spent ten years ago? Increase in applications, increase in relief given, greater expenditures for service (i. e., the fundamental principle that every \$100 worth of relief must be accompanied by about \$100 worth of service is being increasingly recognized), and changing methods in relief giving all contribute to this increase. Edward D. Lynde, *The Family*, July, 1927, pp. 135-144.

A Survey of the Cyclical Conceptions of Social and Historical Process. Sociologists, interested in formulating "the laws of historical evolution" and in discovering "historical tendencies and trends" have tended to emphasize the *linear* conception of social and historical change. Cycles, rhythms, and repetitions, or the *cyclical* conception of social change and historical process must not be neglected. History is replete with illustrations of the cyclical conception. From the position of sociological relativism, "a study of the cyclical and rhythmical repetitions in social phenomena is, at the present moment, one of the most important tasks of sociology." Pitirim A. Sorokin, *Social Forces*, September, 1927, pp. 28-40.

The Subject Matter of the Curriculum and Sociology. In the construction of the school curriculum discussion centers around three problems: the task of the school, the appraisal of the curriculum, and the control of education. It is well to remember that the school is but one among many educational agencies and a highly specialized one. Further, the curriculum should be appraised in "terms of its effect on social behavior outside of the school,"—a task for which the sociologist is probably best fitted. Last, in order to control education, if that is ever possible, it is necessary to study the forces which operate both within and without the institution. George S. Counts, *Journal of Educational Sociology*, Sept., 1927, pp. 11-17.

The Prevention of Crime in Mental Deviates. The crimes committed by mental deviates are to a large extent the preventable crimes. Psychiatrists, psychologists, and penologists working together can do much toward controlling and treating mental deviations. The experiments along the lines of eugenics also offer interesting possibilities. Thomas Orbison, *The Journal of Delinquency*, June, 1927, pp. 100-105.

Scientific Research in Rural Sociology. The commonly accepted view of rural sociology is objected to because "it fails to define the phenomena which are peculiar subject matter of sociology and the unique contribution sociology can make to rural welfare." The applied science of social organization must be based on more adequate data of the "pure science of sociology and social psychology." Dwight Sanderson, *The American Journal of Sociology*, September, 1927, pp. 177-193.

Worth Knowing About Fatigue. Military records have disclosed the fact that the proportion of young men rejected for physical unfitness is far higher in industrial communities than in others. Fatigue plays a large part in breaking down the physical stamina of the individual, aging him prematurely, and making him a readier victim of disease. Both from the point of view of increased returns for capital, and increasing individual and social welfare, the elimination of abnormal fatigue is desirable. Mary Goodyear Earle, *Industrial Psychology*, September, 1927, pp. 459-460.

Methods of Social Research. A definite method of procedure, the limitation of the field and problems, objectivity, and the approach to the projects as pure scientists, are the essentials of a scientific method. In rural social research each project is approached by distinctive methods and techniques, new methods and techniques emerge as products, exact units of measurement are created, attempts are made to define accurately the elements studied, experiments are carried on in the field of community organization and social problems, and some gather material through the participant-observer method. Although diversity of efforts has characterized rural sociological investigation, a body of methodology is in process of emergence. Bruce L. Melvin, *The American Journal of Sociology*, September, 1927, pp. 194-207.

What Science has taught us Regarding the Criminal. We have hardly begun to apply the wealth of scientific knowledge already at hand on the treatment of the social offender. The contributions of psychology, biology, and sociology to the solution of this problem indicate that we need to place far greater emphasis on the alleviation of the maladjustments which occur after birth rather than on the removal of the innate "stigmata of degeneration" advocated by Lombroso and his school. Samuel C. Kohs, *The Journal of Delinquency*, September, 1927, pp. 170-180.

Die Probleme einer empirischen Sociologie. Sociology has been regarded as a deductive science. There has been a difference of opinion as to its meaning and it has had a varied development in different countries. Formal sociology has a heuristic value but empirical sociology is not so much interested in formal and absolute laws as in describing the conditions, dependencies, and connections of things as they are in a given sphere. Its task is to describe what takes place and why. Its problem lies in the mastery of the matter of fact material. It must study the actions and reactions of persons, parallelisms of reactions and the kind of group behavior found in panics. Richard Thurnwald, *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Soziologie*, Heft, 3, September, 1927, pp. 257-273.

Über die Sammlung und Verwaltung des soziologischen Materials. The question of technique in sociological investigation has suffered a decided neglect. Instead of dealing with empirical raw material, sociologists have utilized and synthesized material drawn from other fields. The turning of attention to sociological technique was occasioned by practical interest rather than by interest in science. America has made conspicuous success in accumulating a body of sociological materials, due largely to the establishment of numerous foundations and institutions for social research, to the efforts of a group of sociologists who have given special attention to sociological technique, and to the influence of the American Sociological Society. Europe has remained far behind America in the accumulation of a body of concrete sociological materials, due not only to the lack of financial resources for research but also to a lack of interest in technique. Dr. Florian Znaniecki, *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Soziologie*, Heft 3, September, 1927, pp. 274-293.

The Passing of Pan-Americanism. Our recent relations with Mexico and Nicaragua have served to destroy the already languishing ideal of Pan-Americanism. If confidence is ever to be restored, the American government must make its economic adventurers assume their own risks; citizens truly representative of American ideals must visit the South American countries; and funds must be provided for an interchange of cultural achievements. John A. Mackey, *Christian Century*, May 19, 1927, pp. 618-9.

Research in Rural Sociology. Although hundreds of research projects are carried on in rural sociology in the United States, "it is doubtful," contends Dr. Taylor, "whether rural social investigation has thus far attained the status of research." Instead of following fads and fancies, the first task before rural sociologists is to consistently pursue basic and fundamental researches and to train workers in the fundamentals of sociology and in techniques of research. Carl C. Taylor, *American Journal of Sociology*, September, 1927, pp. 211-221.

Education for Social Work in Rural Communities. Scientific procedure by social workers necessitates a sound foundation in the social sciences. For example, social work in rural communities involves an understanding of the nature and significance of rural social attitudes, the technique of changing attitudes, and the concepts that facilitate social analysis. Social contact, isolation, conflict, socialization, etc., are all concepts with which rural social workers should be familiar. Jesse Frederick Steiner, *Social Forces*, September, 1927, pp. 41-46.

Social Backgrounds and Education. The American child and the school he attends may both be better understood and better adjusted to one another by a study of their social backgrounds—historical and cultural. Among these "social backgrounds . . . which may be studied with profit . . . are those of race, nationality, social class, geographical section, metropolitan area, city, local community, neighborhood, city block, occupational group, church and sect, political group, club, secret society, and such nonconventional groups as the play group, the gang, the clique, and the set." Frederic M. Thrasher, *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, October, 1927, pp. 69-76

Social Research Notes

DR. EARLE E. EUBANK of the University of Cincinnati addressed the October meeting of the Social Research Society of Southern California on the theme, "Concepts of Sociology." Professor Eubank gave an interesting history of the origin and development of the problem upon which he is working. He mentioned specifically his work in Professor Albion W. Small's advanced classes where concepts and categories were a major theme. The need for a systematic organization of these concepts became evident, but a number of difficult problems must be solved. Different writers used different sets of concepts; even different meanings were often given to similar concepts by different writers. But a science grows through its concepts; the history of a science is a history of the development of its concepts. Dr. Eubank set himself the task of making a sociological concept-map. A report of this work has been published in *Social Forces*. The latest organization of Dr. Eubank's list of more than two hundred concepts has three major headings: (1) categories relating to Psychic Basis of Association, (2) categories relating to Objective Data or Phenomena of Sociology (3) categories relating to reactions of Social Mind to the Objective Data. Eight subheadings are distributed as follows: one under Category One, five under Category Two, and two under Category Three. This eightfold list is: (1) of Social Mind, (2) of Unit, (3) of Structure, (4) of Energy, (5) of Processes, (6) of Products, (7) of Evaluation, (8) of Control.

PROFESSOR S. H. JAMESON, formerly of Lafayette College, reported at the first Research Clinic of the Social Research Society of Southern California, upon his dissertation topic entitled "The Relation of Age and Sex to Antisocial Behavior." The question was raised whether or not the age-periods of a person's life are characterized by corresponding behavior phenomena which in connection with the operation of other factors, lead to antisocial activities. The question was also raised whether or not there are distinctive behavior variations according to sex in relation to the respective age-periods. The procedure includes (1) an analysis of all data already in print rela-

tive to age and sex factors in behavior problems; (2) an analysis of "abnormal" cases selected from new materials. An attempt will be made to secure a "control group" from the "normal" population. A number of important questions were raised by Mr. Jameson and by members of the Clinic. These questions included: (1) How can this study be made objective enough to be "scientific"? (2) How may either the age or sex factors be isolated from a multiplicity of other factors? (3) To what extent may psycho-analytical principles be utilized in this study?

THE SOCIOLOGY SCHOLARSHIP SOCIETY of the University of Southern California, Alpha Kappa Delta, held its initial meeting of the year in October with an attendance of sixty-five and an interest that surpasses even that of preceding years. Under the direction of President Frances S. Lucas a program has been worked out for the entire year. Professor George M. Day, who was the speaker at the October meeting, gave an analysis of the Russian people, based on living and studying in Russia for eight years. Irrespective of their governments, whether Czarist or Bolshevik, the Russian people were shown to be full of human interest. "The more you know them, the more you are drawn to them." Abject loneliness, poverty, and idealism were the three outstanding traits of the thousands of Russian university students whose representatives Professor Day contacted. The people at large, the masses, are characterized by humility of spirit; deep compassion for the weak and unfortunate; a cosmopolitan interest in other peoples simply because they are members of the human race; a high emotionalism plunging from the heights of ecstasy and enthusiasm to the depths of despair; a lack of system and management; deeply human, childlike, passionate, mystical and deeply religious.

International Notes

ALCOHOLISM has at last reached the center of international discussion. The prevention of smuggling of alcoholic beverages into countries having prohibition is the question introduced before the Assembly of the League of Nations this year. Czecho-Slovakia, Belgium, Denmark, Poland, and Finland have taken a stand against such smuggling. France and Italy are fighting the move, which is understood to be a step toward making the League an advocate of world-wide prohibition.

INTERNATIONAL TELEPHONE CALLS are on the increase. The inauguration of direct telephone communication between the capital of the United States and the capital of Mexico was witnessed (September 29) in Washington by 300 guests and in Mexico City by 250 officials. The establishment of this long distance telephone adds another chapter "in the shrinkage of distance between countries by the use of electrical transmission of friendly voices." Another need is evident in order to make a friendly conversation directly possible, when one reads that President Coolidge speaks no Spanish, and President Calles little English, and that telephone interpreters were used.

"THE NEXT WAR" is a recurring phrase in current reports even from widely variant sources. Wilhelm II, a militarist, sees another war in ten years, utterly destructive, and brought about by the increasing political jealousies and commercial rivalries among the nations. H. G. Wells, whose peace-loving tendencies are pronounced, sees another war within twenty years and as evidence of his conviction refers to the armament race now going on and to the current attitudes: "Today the huge majority of the people in the world think no more about the prevention of war than a warren of rabbits thinks about the suppression of shotguns and ferrets. They just don't want to be bothered about it. It is amazing how they accept the things that will presently slaughter them. . . . About us, on chairs of the most comfortable sort sat the mature and prosperous, smiling pleasantly at the three military airplanes that maneuvered overhead. 'Wonderful,' they said."

CHINA, following Canada's example of establishing a United Church of Canada, announces a church of Christ in China, which is a move toward at least a united Christianity. While it is too early to analyze the movement in its deeper meanings, it apparently is building first on a unity of Congregationalists and Presbyterians. It is significant that progress along the line of church co-ordination and unity is being made in countries such as Canada and China rather than in the United States.

AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE to revise the time system is being urged. One plan is to have thirteen twenty-eight day months. In order that the four weeks of each month should fall on the same dates, an extra sabbath would be added to the last week of each year. A new month would need to be added, between June and July, it is suggested. January first of each year would come on Sunday. Easter's date would also be fixed. Logic and convenience both favor some such plan, but custom and convention are powerful handicaps to be overcome.

THE JAPANESE are doggedly trying to make the best of being left off the quota. Americans who sense the injustice that has been done to a worthy people are unable as yet to do much except to advise the Japanese to be patient and to continue being patient. The friends of the present quota law refuse to discuss the subject of exclusion with the Japanese, and announce that the matter is a closed book, ignoring points of justice not strictly national. But short-sighted nationalism is often most inimical to national welfare, not to mention any larger interests.

MEXICO continues in the limelight. The brutal means used by the government in putting to death the rebel leaders shocked many American sympathizers. The argument that to stop a revolution thus promptly and melodramatically is less costly in bloodshed than to use milder means and to allow it to drag on for years is logically but not wholly convincing, for it overlooks important alternatives. The appointment of Ambassador Morrow to Mexico seems to have been approved by non-financial interests as well as by the interests with which he has long been associated. His efforts at conciliation and adjustment of economic conflicts will be watched with widespread concern.

FRANCE, in establishing the present high tariffs on American goods entering that country, has given the United States a real taste of the medicine she has often administered to other nations. A protective tariff that creates international ill-will is an expensive mode of national progress. International conferences are needed to dissolve the dilemma caused by the needs for "protection" and for good will. National fiats are no longer adequate.

NEW TURKEY is about to abandon Friday as the Moslem Sabbath and to adopt Sunday in its place, according to press despatches from Angora. The Constantinople Chamber of Commerce has been a leader in the movement on the grounds that the change is imperative if Turkey is to have an adequate place in the European market. The cultural difficulty of getting the peasants to change an ancient custom grounded in religious sentiment is to be overcome by arbitrarily interchanging the Turkish word for Friday, *djuna*, with the Turkish word for Sunday, *pazaar*, and vice versa.

A PAN-AMERICAN CONFERENCE to be held early next year, perhaps in Havana, is being advocated by American business men. The need is urgent, it is claimed, to do something to overcome the growing hostility toward the United States in Central and South America. This resentment is being felt where it hurts most, namely, in our trade figures. It is planned to have President Coolidge attend the Conference and make a conciliatory speech, but as one editorial writer observes: "The Southern Republics are quite intelligent enough to notice the difference if we preach friendship and practice domination."

DEPORTATION OF IMMIGRATION remains too extensively a national matter. While steamships are no longer as guilty as once of leaving returned immigrants stranded at seaports of embarkation and often hundreds of miles from their peasant homes, the situation remains inadequately handled. "Can we in point of fact do exactly as we please in regard to immigration matters, no matter what the weal or woe of other countries concerned?" is the pertinent question raised by Jane Perry Clark in *The Immigrant*. What about the Englishman who deserted his wife and three small children in Florida, and then because of the desertion, was deported to England, thus making the desertion permanent, and preventing the husband from ever being compelled to contribute his share toward the support of his family?

Social Work Notes

INCREASING INTEREST in the processes of social work augers a most important development in the field of social work: the application of scientific methods to the analysis of technical operations. Critical analysis of interviewing as carried on by case workers has yielded significant results. The same approach obviously is needed, for example, to such processes as moulding public opinion, training volunteers, organizing settlement groups, and the like.

THE BARRENNESS of social surveys in practical results has been frequently commented upon. Students of the history of social work point out that reformation generally begins with social unrest in the masses and is largely an emotional response rather than intellectual analysis. Until methods for co-ordinating the activities of the fact-finder and the mover-of-men are devised we shall probably continue to suffer the effects of blind leadership on the one hand and intellectual inaction on the other.

COMPLAINT is frequently made that sociologists have contributed very little which can be directly used by social workers in their struggle with social problems. As a social scientist the sociologist, obviously, has no immediate interest in social problems. Nevertheless, with increasing emphasis in sociology upon first-hand study in the field by trained research men and less emphasis upon philosophic speculation, the paths of sociologists and social workers are drawing closer to each other. The precise character of their co-operation is a matter for future adjustments.

THERE is apparently an opportunity for medical social work to develop family case work in the above-the-poverty-line group. Many families come for medical service in which the health problem is but one aspect of the family situation. Where the public officials and the family welfare society limit their cases to families requiring economic relief, the way lies open for the expansion of the personal service program of the health agency. Is it feasible for the medical social work organization to administer a complete case work service on "non-monetary" cases?

Social Drama Notes

IN ABRAHAM'S BOSOM. By PAUL GREEN. Robert M. McBride and Company, New York, 1927.

The latest Pulitzer prize play, *In Abraham's Bosom*, by Professor Paul Green, has for its central character, Abe McCranie, a mulatto in an unselfish quest of education. Education, as Abe sees it, will elevate the Negro so that he may have freedom of thought and a right kind of living. But he realizes the tremendous difficulties that confront him, not the least of which is the attitude of the Negro himself.

His determination and studiousness gain for him the chance to start a school for negro children, but his ambition overwhelms him, and the attempt ends in disaster for him. A truly tragic figure is Abe who, obsessed with the hope of salvation for his people, finds himself betrayed by them, and finally led into the hands of the mob by the serpent's tooth, his own son.

Professor Green has portrayed vividly the mind of the Negro. Chided by his old aunt, Muh Mack, for being back "at dem books," Abe begins to read to her: "The Negro is a superstitious person. There are signs and wonders in the weather, some fraught with evil, some with good. He plants his crops according to the moon, works and labors under the eye of some evil spirit of his own imagining. Heah dat." The reply comes that a white man wrote it and "he don't know." Abe replies: "Dat's jest it, he do know. Nigger one don't know. Dat book wrote foh you, Muh, and all de rest of de bline." Through persistent study and application, Abe brings himself to a point of perfection at which he is able to write an oration which he plans to give to his people. He thunders it in the ears of the unwilling listener, Muh Mack: "A little over forty years ago the white man's power covered us like the night. Through war and destruction we was freed. But it was freedom of the body and not of the mind. . . . What we need is thinking people, people who will not let the body rule the head. And again, I cry out, education." And it is with this thought that "we must have— have—" that Abe falls, a victim of the mob. Powerfully drawn, this tragic sketch of the Negro will be a welcome addition to sociological drama.

M. J. V.